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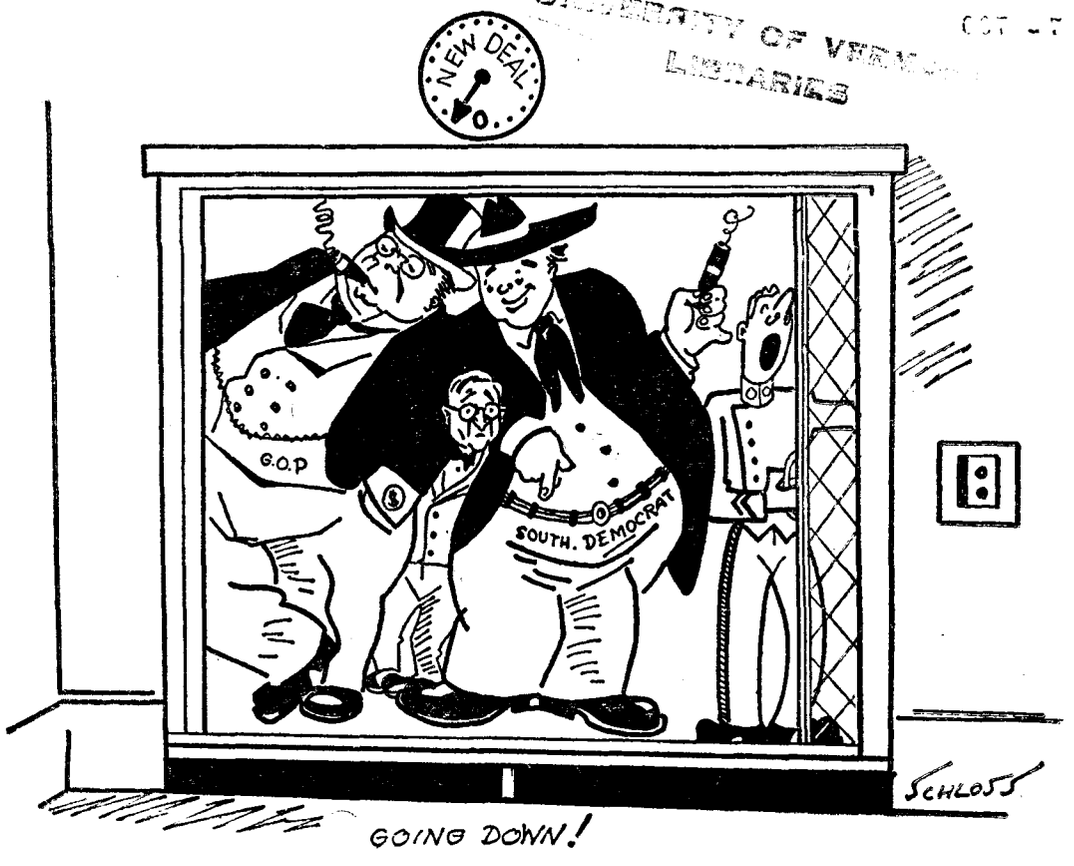

British Labor in Power

A ten-page special section on the Labor Party's program for Britain's future by Jack Winocour and Michael Young

On Getting Through to the Russians

by HAROLD LASKI

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YOU'VE NEVER READ A BOOK LIKE THIS ONE

MARGARET HALSEY, author of *Color Blind*

MARGARET HALSEY'S COLOR BLIND, is something new under the sun. It is a book about race relations. It has earned the plaudits of specialists in this field. But it is so amusing that **Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings** of Florida, famous author of "The Yearling," was moved to say: "Miss Halsey's wit and humor and irony should do more good in revealing the hypocrisy of the situation, than a dozen sermons."

COLOR BLIND tells you how to face up to the problems of race relations, to solve them for yourself, so you can live more comfortably and easily for having swept your mind and imagination clean of fetishes, superstitions and fears.

As Clare Boothe Luce says: "If this dark and painful question is to be happily solved in our time it will be because a few people have had the courage and intelligence to read the truths about the Negro which Margaret Halsey has had the intelligence and courage to write. Let those who despair because our way of life has bred its political Bilbos rejoice that it also gives us writers like Margaret Halsey who can supply the cure of truth for the cancerous evils which spread through the American system."

When Texas-born **Albert D. Lasker** read this book he said: "I believe COLOR BLIND will excite the nation more than anything I have read on the subject, into a frank facing of just where we are. COLOR BLIND forced me to take an appraisal of myself. I had to look myself for once squarely in the face, and I didn't look exactly the way I hoped I did. I think this is one of the most important books Simon and Schuster ever produced. As a citizen, I thank and congratulate you."

Dorothy Canfield Fisher wrote: "Simply excellent. Exactly what has been needed, what hasn't been said, what nobody personally and emotionally involved could say—what it takes somebody as smart as greased lightning to say! Maybe what I like most about it, is the humane attitude towards Southern white people. The smugness of the Northern white person towards the Southern whites struggling in their self-invented nightmare, is dreadful—like all smugness."

Dr. Daniel Poling, editor of The Christian Herald, says: "The most searching and intelligent race study that has appeared in a long decade."

From **Earnest Albert Hooton,** famous anthropolegist: "I consider COLOR BLIND the most helpful and practical book on Negro-White relations that I have read. The author is courageous, sincere, realistic. I like what she writes, the way she writes it, and what she stands for."

One of the Negro Americans who read COLOR BLIND before publication is **Ulysses W. Boykin,** editor of the Detroit Tribune, a leading Negro weekly. He says, "I must confess that although at first, I opened it with faint enthusiasm and a spirit of resignation, thinking it 'just another one of those books on the race question,' by a white person who 'understands Negroes,' my attitude quickly changed upon reading it. Undoubtedly, to my way of thinking, it is the most intelligent, practical and truthful approach to race relations ever to be published."

Virtually all of the comments from nationally known leaders add up to the same conclusion: COLOR BLIND will be widely talked about, widely read, and will prove immeasurably valuable in reducing interracial ill will and strife.

To give you a quick sample of COLOR BLIND, here are a few excerpts:

☞ Miss Halsey's introduction to racial problems was not strikingly original or unusual:

"At college I was first introduced to the social sciences and read in books about the chronic and systematized injustice with which our Negro citizens have to contend. This filled me with a sense of outrage, but I could think of nothing specific and immediate to do. Perhaps I did not try very hard. I was preoccupied in those days with a series of line plungers and running backs whose personal life I aspired to be a feature of, and my subconscious conclusion may very well have been that I had done enough merely by being indignant, and that for the rest, the Negroes would have to wait."

☞ Her first experience in accepting the principle of social equality was revealing:

"I met a Negro girl at a committee meeting and impulsively asked her to come home with me. She is a pretty girl, and of a most engaging color, but I was not entirely comfortable when I walked down the street with her. I wondered whether people were staring, and I was afraid that some hot-eyed Confederate would leap out from behind a lamppost and start denouncing me—in which case I knew I would not rear up and break loose with some comment in a class with the Gettysburg Address."

☞ After a thorough analysis, Margaret Halsey concludes that the *word* "trouble" *rather* than the *fact* of trouble is an underlying cause of race problems.

"The word 'trouble' brought forward as an excuse for continuing to deny simple justice to the Negro American, means more than race riots. After the issue of race riots is raised and met, the question is far from closed. On the contrary, we find that we're off in a cloud of lust. To that tindery and inflammable entity, the American imagination, the word 'trouble' suggests a vision or fantasy of millions of beautiful white girls being seduced by Negro men with the machinelike regularity of a sexual Willow Run. Whereupon each beautiful white girl produces—almost instantly, too—a coal black baby with purple high lights. In the American imagination, when the word 'trouble' is invoked, these coal-black babies patter down into the national scene like berries into a quart measure."

☞ Miss Halsey's experience indicates that one of the great hurdles in Negro-White relations is the fantasy that Negroes and sex *calamities are indivisible*:

"One of the most monotonous aspects of race relations in the United States is the blind acceptance—by otherwise sensible people—of any wild, half-baked, fragmentary, unsubstantiated or even patently absurd cock-and-bull story that comes along, provided it has to do with Negroes and sex. People who balance their checkbooks, tot up the slips from the grocery, count over the laundry when it comes back, and in many other ways behave with cool, hard-headed realism will turn out to be the suckers of the world when it comes to Negro sexuality. Nobody on God's green footstool could sell these people stock in a phony gold mine, but when the issue is sex and Negroes, they sit with their mouths open like fledgling birds and swallow whatever is dropped in. If white Americans conducted the rest of their careers with the same childlike gullibility they bring to bear on stories about Negroes and sex, a staggering percentage of our Caucasian population would spend its life in receivership."

☞ Another factor in racial discrimination, says Miss Halsey, is pure, unadulterated economics.

"Th real reason back of the refusal of some to mingle with Negroes isn't nearly as romantic and as dramatic as they like to think it is. The real reason has nothing to do with rape, seduction and risings in the night. The *real reason can be summed up in two extremely unro*mantic little words: cheap labor. As long as you treat Negoes as subhumans, you don't have to pay them so much. When you refuse to mingle, you are neither protecting your honor nor making sure that white Southerners won't have their homes burned down around their ears. All you are doing is making it possible for employers all over the country to get Negroes to work for them for less money than those employers would have to pay you."

☞ Finally she gives several specific and comparatively easy ways to improve race relations by doing something about it yourself.

"We will have to do many things at once. This is neither so novel nor so frightening a prospect as may at first be imagined. Any woman who keeps house can testify that the moment the doorbell rings is almost always the precise, identical segment of time when the rice boils over and the baby falls downstairs. There is nothing especially new to human experience in having to take care of everything at once. Wives and mothers and Henry J. Kaiser do it all the time. It is often, as a matter of fact, referred to with pride as The American Tradition. 'The difficult we do right away. The impossible takes a little bit longer.' "

COLOR BLIND

A WHITE WOMAN LOOKS AT THE NEGRO

by Margaret Halsey

Author of "With Malice Toward Some" and "Some of My Best Friends are Soldiers"

Price $2.50 SIMON AND SCHUSTER

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

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An Honest Chance for Peace

THE WORLD this week is being granted an honest chance for the peace that has seemed so elusive in the year since the guns were silenced. It may be the last chance. It is desperately important that the men entrusted with the destiny of the new generation make the most of it.

The demonstration by Henry Wallace that there is in the United States a strong faction eager for a settlement with Russia on a fair basis precipitated a remarkable succession of events which add up to an opportunity at last to break the world deadlock.

Premier Stalin has now given assurances to the world which even our reluctant State Department admits are "terribly interesting." The Russophobic rumblings of Winston Churchill as spokesman for British conservatives have for once been quieted by Anthony Eden's sober admission that sanity seems to dictate a new approach to Russia by Britain and the United States. And now Secretary Byrnes is breaking his silence to redefine the objectives of the United States in its relations with the world.

This is, however, no moment for Americans or anyone else to relax in the comfort of reassuring words. In the months since the cessation of hostilities there have been too many protestations of high aspirations for peace from the world statesmen; too few concrete actions capable of helping to make peace a reality. It is time for the statesmen to begin fitting actions to words.

But the protestations at this moment are most opportune, since they may be considered a prelude to the first effort of the great powers to strike toward the heart of the problem that is blocking peace and breeding stalemate. This effort—on agreement of the Big Five—is apparently to be made at a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York City in November, when the West finally comes to grips with Russia on the future of Germany, the focal point of the war infection that is poisoning the whole world.

This, then, is the moment for statesmanship on the part of Secretary Byrnes. Stalin has declared that Soviet manipulation of a supine but still dangerous Germany against Western Europe and the United States is "excluded." The Russian premier has stated that the politics of the Soviet Union in Germany "comes down to demilitarization and democratization of Germany." Mr. Byrnes may consider—with some justice—that such statements are suspect in that they will not readily square with the realities experienced in Berlin by General Lucius D. Clay. He probably can cite countless cases where the hard actualities of Russian operations in the Soviet zone negate these high ideals.

But Stalin also can cite the Byrnes speech at Stuttgart as a blatant bid for German support by the United States. No purpose now is to be served by critical analyses of speeches or by mutual recriminations over past failures to fit actions to words.

THE CAUSE of peace could, however, be served if Byrnes would now take the Stalin statement on Germany at its face value and make preparations for a settlement on the central problem of Europe that is neither pro-Russian nor pro-American, neither pro-Communist nor pro-capitalist but, indeed, pro-world.

Such a swing away from the present Truman-Byrnes-Vandenberg policy must somehow be accomplished. Such an American effort is the objective for which Wallace is fighting. And that too, apparently, approximates the "new approach" of which Eden was talking last week. That is the target set up last Saturday when the progressive groups in Chicago endorsed the crusade that Wallace had proclaimed a week earlier.

It would be difficult to concede that Byrnes could agree with the Acting Secretary of State, William L. Clayton, who has publicly dismissed proposals for a new approach with the icy comment that he sees no need for such a new effort for peace. For the millions of Americans who will disagree with Clayton, the key words in Stalin's assertion that a real threat of a new war does not exist might well be the final Stalin qualification that it does not exist "*at present.*" That restriction of the reassurance to the moment lends an urgency to the task of Americans in seeking to turn our official policy away from a catastrophic challenge of the Soviet and to direct it toward solid ground on which Russian communist socialism and American capitalism can coexist in a peaceful world.

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Inching Ahead on Atomic Energy

The 12 nations of the UN Atomic Energy Commission have unanimously adopted the report made by the scientists in regard to international control of atomic materials and products. The report was carefully confined to the question whether it is technically possible to supervise the production of fissionable products, and says that it is, at five successive steps: the mines, and four types of plants in which various stages of development are achieved. The report says grimly that a thousand tons of uranium, the prewar worldwide production, could create enough electric power for the use of 20 million people, or would make from 70 to 3,500 atomic bombs—depending, of course, on their size. It goes toward the political sphere far enough to recommend wide geographical dispersal of atomic operations.

This week, the Atomic Energy Commission will begin the extremely difficult task of reconciling conflicting American and Russian views on the question of political control. The United States wants an International Atomic Development Authority which will control everything, and own everything except the mines—and possibly even these; Russia says this means an impairment of international sovereignty. Frederick Kuh of the Chicago *Sun* is probably right when he says that the Russians believe atomic fission will in the future be the main source of power in peace as well as in war, and they consider the proposals for international control an entering wedge by which the capitalist countries of the world could cripple or delay both Russia's industrial development and her national defense. Clearly, the Western world will have to give better guarantees of good faith and peaceful intent than it has thus far done.

Letters to Wallace

Six days after his resignation, Henry Wallace had received more than 6,700 letters from veterans, ministers, businessmen and citizens promising him their support and urging him to continue his talks for world peace. Hundreds of letters and telegrams a day are still being delivered to the Department of Commerce, and so far only 800 have opposed Wallace's stand. Here are some excerpts:

Detroit, Mich. "Why not have a popular vote on your stand against World War III? I will contribute as much as I can afford to such a campaign."

Berwyn, Pa. "Ever since the death of Franklin Roosevelt we have looked to you to lead us in the continuation of the fight for his principles and now we can rejoice that the way is clear for you."

A veteran, Palo Alto, Calif. "I have long felt that the close relation built up, through the efforts of Roosevelt, with Russia has been deliberately sabotaged by those currently in charge of foreign relations in this country. In view of practical unanimity of the press in supporting the present ill advised policy, the only hope of arousing such sentiment is through speeches of such men as yourself."

Longview, Tex. "Thank God, Mr. President, you fired that crackpot."

Philadelphia, Pa. "We believe that if you now undertook to tour the country on behalf of your views, it would not only hasten agreement in Paris and other UN councils, but would rally the country to more permanent alignment of all those who have good will for peace."

Providence, R. I. "As a property taxpayer, a veteran, a factory-worker and a lover of peace, I thank you for your courage."

Philadelphia, Pa. "I should like others to join me in contributing one thousand dollars to provide funds to print your letter and have a copy put into the hands of every American."

San Francisco, Calif. "Why not the presidency, Mr. Wallace?"

Two Worlds

Admiral Blandy, deputy chief of staff for naval operations, spoke out with startling plainness at his first news conference since his return from the Bikini atomic-bomb tests. He said of the tests, "This is one form of being prepared for war. The best way to avert war is to be prepared for it. Our slipshod methods in the past have resulted in great loss of life and dislocation of our economy. We have a chance to prevent the next war—I do not refer to any specific war—by preparing for it."

A grim lesson in what to expect in the atomic war, if there is one, was given by the Admiral and his staff. One of the medical officers said, "We hope to learn methods to save those exposed to *moderate* amounts of radiation. I do not believe it will ever be possible to cure those with heavy doses."

A "moderate dose" of atomic radiation was described thus: "Insects can stand up to 100,000 R units. If a man gets from 300 to 500 R units, that is sufficient to kill. The rat is more resistant. A moderate dose would be less than 300 R units." He explained there was no antidote for radiation poisoning. Penicillin and blood transfusions have been used with some success on the animals to cure after-effects such as anemia.

One of the effects of radiation is sterility. The medical officer said, "Anyone seriously ill from radiation would have his sex function destroyed. The sex cells of the body are more sensitive to radiation. It is possible for animals or men not to be killed but to have the sex cells destroyed. In some animals there is evidence of atrophy of the testes. The mice were not harmed."

Another effect noticed on the animals which survived was irritability and aggressiveness.

All of the pigs, whose susceptibility to radiation is similar to that of man, were destroyed in the second

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Bikini test. Asked what would have happened had men been in their place, the medical officer answered, "My guess is that all would have been killed unless they were evacuated immediately."

It was stated positively at the conference that no means of protecting an individual from radiation were practical, and that—thus far—no way of combating the bomb by setting it off prematurely or changing its course had been found.

Asked if any structural changes in ships were contemplated, Admiral Blandy replied, "The best protection is not to be there when the bomb goes off."

The Admiral said results of the test would not be made known internationally and that even the positions of the animals on the test ship were considered Top Secret under a special directive of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

There are two worlds for the future. The peaceful one for which Henry Wallace is campaigning, or one left to insects and rats and a few sterile human beings.

Unfinished Shipping Profits

The House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee spent four days last week ostensibly trying to discover whether any of the operators of government-owned shipyards collected "exorbitant or unreasonable" profits during the war. There seems to be little doubt that a great many people made enormous amounts of money out of building ships badly needed to win the war. Profits disclosed in the hearings ran all the way from $20,000 to $100,000 per Liberty ship—after taxes—and one Florida firm collected $5,000 for every dollar it had invested.

The operators of the wartime shipyards actually were managers of a government plant. They supplied some working capital—in most instances money borrowed on the strength of their government contracts—but as ordinary business risks go, they took practically none. They were entitled to some compensation for the skill and "know-how" they brought to the job, and for the engineering and other services they performed. But the central question is: was it wise to put shipbuilding (and other kinds of war production in government-owned plants) on a basis of profit? What alternatives to cost-plus-fee contracts would be more equitable to the taxpayers and contractors alike? This was not even touched upon by the investigators.

The committee did not even have a clear idea in its own mind what should constitute a reasonable profit for a shipbuilder. Committee counsel wanted to judge this on the basis of invested capital; that rule showed profits high. Shipbuilders wanted it measured on volume of production; this showed profits amazingly low. The truth must lie somewhere in between.

The committee concentrated upon identifying villains—and the chief villain apparently was to be Henry J. Kaiser, the West Coast industrialist who is often called "the darling of the New Deal" by the Republicans. (Republicans outnumbered Democrats three to one in attendance.) None of the evidence produced by the committee has indicated that Kaiser earned a dollar he was not entitled to earn—under the system.

Things to Watch Out For:

The Price Decontrol Board to speak up shortly on its lack of authority to do anything about re-controlling meat prices under present conditions. The statement will be aimed at meat hoarders, who are holding out stocks in the hope that the board may reverse itself at the next hearing, probably some time in October.

Civilian Production Administrator John Small to resign. Reconversion Director Steelman's decision to back Housing Administrator Wilson Wyatt over Small in their running fight on responsibilities for the housing lag is the reason.

Shoe shortage this year resulting from curtailed slaughtering.

The present investigation of shipbuilding profits to adjourn without scratching the surface. Politics and special pressure win again.

General J. C. Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, who is coming to the United States to make certain that the General Assembly does not open a probe into discrimination in his country. India is antagonized by "ghetto laws" affecting thousands of Indians living in South Africa and wants the United Nations to take action.

Chairman Kilgore to block an attempt by Republican members of the War Investigating Committee to divert attention from huge war-profits cases and concentrate on government activities. Republican strategy is to protect the concerns which make large campaign contributions to the GOP and, at the same time, embarrass the Administration.

Great Britain quietly to pave the way for extensive negotiations with Russia while the US is being tough. Complete settlement of war accounts between the USSR and Great Britain has already been reached and the door is open for deals whereby Britain might obtain timber and other war materials in exchange for manufactured goods and machinery.

The National Housing Agency to grant lush contracts to several big-time producers of prefabricated houses in the near future. The NHA has promised veterans 100,000 prefabs by the end of this year and 600,000 in 1947.

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Unquestionably, there is reason for the most careful study of the entire wartime maritime program. Unquestionably, fantastic profits were made by people who took very little risk, as Allen Bernard's series on the maritime scandal printed in the *New Republic* has shown. The public is entitled to know how much these people received.

But at this point, there is little reason to hope that the full story will be brought out. The Merchant Marine Committee's hearings have been notable chiefly as a demonstration of practically every weakness of congressional investigations.

Double Wage Trouble Ahead

With a return to peace expected in the maritime industry this week, the labor arm of the Administration is seeking to head off a second general round of labor-management strife.

There are two situations that could cause trouble in the immediate future. First are the packinghouse workers in Chicago, who are in the unhappy position of trying to negotiate a wage increase while the stockyards are shut down for lack of raw material. These workers got only 16 cents in their last negotiations, and will almost certainly get a substantial wage increase whether the Wage Stabilization Board likes it or not. The second sore spot is at Western Union, where both the AFL and the CIO may go out after October 23. It will take a fact-finding board, at least, and a powerful one at that, to head off trouble here.

Painless abolition of wage stabilization, and the endowment of fact-finding with greater force and dignity, are two of the devices on which Labor Secretary Schwellenbach and OWMR Chief John Steelman are leaning heavily. Both know that wage stabilization without price control is an anachronism, and both realize that the new OPA is a price-raiser, not a price-holder. Steelman's OWMR subcommittee, on which Phil Murray and Anna Rosenberg serve, is charged with devising something to replace wage stabilization. If Murray has his way, wage stabilization will be abolished.

Schwellenbach and Steelman are in agreement that "fact-finding is a sound alternative to industrial strife." Used a score of times since the oil settlement a year ago, fact-finding has not failed once, although sometimes it has been slow to show results.

WFTU Meeting

"The world is in a poisonous state," Arthur Deakin of Great Britain, new president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, commented last week at the conclusion of the WFTU's executive bureau meeting in Washington. Deakin's diverse associates from the CIO and unions of the USSR, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Latin America were in complete accord.

The WFTU's resolution on world peace voiced the workers' "deep concern" over the trend to belligerency and the crumbling of wartime unity; it called upon the various labor movements to seek repudiation of reaction by their respective governments; and it hailed the unity and solidarity of workers as the "firmest assurance" that peace may be maintained.

The resolution skirted rather carefully around the overwhelming diplomatic issue of the day—the relationships of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Deakin obviously had a good many ideas which he was tactful enough, as president of the world labor body, to refrain from discussing.

The WFTU leadership stressed the necessity of continued international famine relief after the forthcoming dissolution of UNRRA; condemned the "reactionary" Greek government for interfering with that country's democratic trade unions; demonstrated continued interest in the developing labor movements of Germany and Japan which one day will probably be admitted to the WFTU. The bureau also named Adolph Germer, a veteran in the CIO, to head the organization's important colonial division. Germer will have as a primary mission the question of assistance to African unionists, who have been waging a fierce and little publicized defensive campaign against exploitation.

The Boycott of the AVC

The long period of icy politeness between the AVC and the World War I veterans' organizations has been broken by the official refusal of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion to participate further in public programs with the American Veterans' Committee. The VFW has issued "restricted" instructions to all national representatives that they are not to appear publicly with the AVC. The Legion, not satisfied with instructions, has issued a mandate for its representatives to do likewise.

The VFW and the Legion have already threatened to withdraw from the veterans' advisory councils established by federal agencies such as the National Housing Agency (responsible for the Emergency Housing Program) and the War Assets Administration, but this last step in a complete boycott of the AVC has been delayed. Although Omar Ketchum, legislative director of the VFW, has stated that his organization could not continue to participate in any group in which it is ranked as an equal with the AVC, a Legion spokesman said that Legion activity is not affected on government committees "which are not debating societies." At the last meeting of the Veterans' Advisory Committee of Mr. Wyatt's office, all major veterans' organizations were present, with no apparent friction resulting. However, VFW and Legion representatives were conspicuously absent at the last session of a similar advisory committee of the War Assets Administration.

For the most part the campaign against the AVC is being carried on by the VFW, whose past record is less

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open to criticism than that of the Legion. VFW Commander Starr, in refusing VFW participation in a panel on veterans' problems sponsored September 16 by the Women's National Press Club, told the press the VFW refused to share any public program with the AVC because the latter is "not a veterans' organization"—referring to the AVC's acceptance of merchant-marine members. The VFW's constitution permits membership of contract doctors and other civilian personnel from previous wars; during the 1930's the VFW sponsored legislation granting these "civilians" pensions and the full privileges of veterans.

The American Legion refused to participate on the same panel because of its "policy" of refraining from discussion of controversial issues with "organizations claiming a veteran membership." Of late both World War I organizations have refrained from calling the AVC "communist" and instead charge that it is a "political and economic lobby" and not a veterans' organization. This charge was refuted on September 25 when General Bradley, in spite of opposition by the Legion, recognized the AVC as an accredited veterans' organization for presentation of claims before the Veterans' Administration—a legal status in veterans' affairs equal to that of the VFW and the Legion.

As the Washington *Post* pointed out editorially, "The chief loser in this provincial gesture (*i. e.*, of boycotting the AVC) will be the veteran." By attempting to tell the Women's National Press Club who may speak to them on veterans' affairs and by attempting to incapacitate veterans' advisory committees of the federal government by non-participation, the VFW and the Legion are making it clear that their organizational prejudices are stronger than their desire to have frank and open discussion of problems affecting their own membership.

Division Over Europe

MORE THAN a hundred million people in Europe this summer were fed at a level of 1,500 calories a day or less. Millions of them were without adequate housing, domestic equipment, tools and clothing. In Holland, coal production stood at only 72 percent of the prewar supply and coal imports were negligible. In Hungary, bread-grain production rose from a bare 29 percent to only 57 percent of the prewar supply. In Poland, where war, territorial changes and mass migration had reduced the population from 35 to 24 million, industry was hamstrung by a shortage of builders, miners, technicians and foremen.

Last week the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations met to consider a 400-page report prepared by its Temporary Subcommission on the Reconstruction of Devastated Areas. Striking out boldly, the Subcommission proposed a plan to integrate Europe's economic recovery: establishment of an international housing organization; construction of hydroelectric plants and power allocation on an international basis; a review of urgent imports needed in Europe in 1947; financial assistance from the International Bank and the Monetary Fund; voluntary transfer of workmen and borrowing of skilled technicians to relieve Europe's paralyzing shortage of skilled labor; repair of waterways and railroads; equitable distribution of raw materials and machinery; and the revival of trade on a multilateral rather than bilateral system.

To carry out the long-range implications of this integration program, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States proposed that an Economic Commission for Europe, composed of all European members of the UN and the United States, be created. The United Kingdom and the United States enthusiastically supported the report in full. Peru and China wanted worldwide rather than European economic reconstruction. But it was the USSR's Nikolai I. Feonov who dropped the bombshell.

The report, said Mr. Feonov, is impractical, theoretical and long-range. . . . What business has the United States on a European Commission? . . . These proposals will make Europe economically dependent on strong outside nations. . . .

For more than a year, the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe has been dealing with just such immediate and pressing problems. Yet Russia categorically refused to join the EECE or to take part in its discussions of timber, public utilities and housing problems. The underlying USSR argument had been that the EECE constituted a British-dominated mouthpiece for the Western bloc. From the Soviet point of view, the new commission would leave the line-up unchanged. Moreover, the United States, rich and interested in European markets, might do much to undermine Russia's economic and political influence in Eastern Europe.

Russia's dilemma was clear: without some integrated reconstruction program the chances for economic recovery in Europe are slim. With such a program, however, Russia may find herself outvoted on the practical problems with which the commission is dealing. If, on the other hand, she refuses to join the commission, it becomes an uninhibited Western bloc.

In an effort to avoid the split into two worlds, the Council appointed a drafting subcommittee on which the USSR is a member. The committee is to consider recommendations on the report and discuss the possibilities of an Economic Commission for Europe from both the short and long-term points of view.

The fears and suspicions evident when the report was submitted are still present. A formula for East-West coöperation at the working level must be found. The task of rebuilding Europe as an integrated whole must not bog down.

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Washington Wire—Plus or Minus?

WE HAVE a lot of ground to cover this week so our efforts may be a little jumpy. Let's start with Truman. His refusal to surrender meat controls took real political courage: it reveals one more facet of one of the most remarkable men ever to sit in the White House. The Democratic leader of the House, John W. McCormack, demanded that meat controls be lifted. The issue is a terrible sore spot for the Democrats in the election and McCormack's demand was a pure political maneuver. Truman the politician courageously rejected it. Politics may yet get too hot for him; he may waver or recede. But that action was one score on the side of the angels.

Recently a friend of ours came away from meeting the President for the first time. The thing that impressed him suddenly was Truman's simple, kindly, humble, homespun quality. All Washington correspondents were writing about this admirable trait a year ago. Few men in the White House have tried harder or yearned more sincerely for the nation's welfare. Wherein does the little man with the thick lenses fail? One reason is the machinery that has him in thrall. Truman has never known how to use his cabinet effectively, and the tradition of collective responsibility is absent in America. At about the same time Truman became President, Clement Attlee took office, too. Attlee is a dry, colorless man, but Attlee's prestige has risen while Truman's has slumped. There are lots of reasons, but one is that Attlee doesn't carry the whole burden; it is the cabinet, not Attlee, which discusses and sets Britain's policies. The Wallace episode could hardly have occurred under a system of collective cabinet responsibility. James Reston of the New York *Times*, one of the country ablest correspondents, pointed out last week that Truman has failed to utilize even the degree of cabinet discussion and consultation which the rigid American system affords. Truman's public actions are erratic, varying from real courage to unhappy blundering. Consultation with a strong cabinet would help him greatly.

Last week we wandered over to the House Merchant Marine Committee investigating vast war-shipping profits, first exposed in this magazine. We recorded these wild descriptive notes about Henry Kaiser, a man whom we always enjoy watching and whom (let us come right out and say it) we like: "Blue serge suit; smooth-worn wedding ring on big finger of big hand; faint fringe of grayish hair hangs like afterthought on back of neckless pink dome; rolls his barrel-like body around in the committee's swivel chair with look of injured innocence (apparently sincere) and tone of persuasive expostulation; looks like wise, amiable old woodchuck." You can see from these notes the difficulties we have in getting out this column. At the end of three days of investigation, reporters were uncertain whether Kaiser had come out of the war plus or minus. The figures were confusing and sometimes conflicting. The fact is, of course, Kaiser made a tremendous and, apparently, perfect legal killing. He turned out ships at amazing speed and was paid fat war rates for them. Unlike the others, however, Kaiser so arranged it that a large part of his profits came not directly in cash, but in amortization for his other war plants, notably a big magnesium plant currently losing money, and the huge Fontana steel plant that looks like a continuing liability unless the RFC refinances it. This is the typical Kaiser pattern; turning profits of one industry into two other industries. It will take years to find out where he stands. Altogether, he is now running 18 industries. We have a shrewd guess that profits are not Kaiser's dominating motive. We suspect the shrewd old "woodchuck" is a genuine empire builder, more interested in the game than the dollars.

It was amusing to hear Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, wearing black house slippers (the kind I had to wear as a child at dancing class), talking to the correspondents at the British Embassy last week. We all drew our chairs around him in the sumptuous room. He tapped the toe of his dancing pumps under the ornate table and then let us have it: the world's dire need for full employment. It was an old-fashioned New Deal speech in which he nimbly got around mentioning the United States, but in which almost every statement of conditions and controls in Labor-governed Britain were a contrast to current economic gyrations in America. The United Kingdom, Dalton mentioned, didn't throw off controls after the war; today the cost of living is fixed and stable; lack of insecurity has made it relatively easy to prevent strikes; substantial subsidies continue to be paid to keep costs, particularly food costs, down; taxes are being reduced, too. On the political side, Dalton—a tall, bald, extrovertish sort of man with a slight smile always visible—brightly pointed out that his government hasn't lost a single by-election in a year in office, a thing that has not happened in Britain since 1874.

One funny incident in the Wallace excitement: harrassed reporters noticed the look of excited concentration on the face of a friend, a normally leisurely magazine writer, and challenged him to produce anything that could possibly be as electrifying as the Wallace episode. "My dear boys," he replied with hauteur, "you forget there's just been a 150-foot slip in Niagara Falls, and I work for the *National Geographic!*"

Notes.—Truman and Byrnes are expected to make acknowledgement of Stalin's tension-easing statement shortly. . . . The London Sunday *Times*, which submitted the original questionnaire to Stalin, sent the same one to Truman, hoping for similar comment. The White House rejected the bid on the ground that the questionnaire method was inappropriate for democratic America. . . . The party ban on Wallace and Pepper as campaign speakers lasted only a week.

Washington T. R. B.

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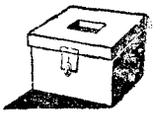
Report from Chicago— Progressives' Progress



AMERICAN PROGRESSIVES have grown up. The political-action movement is less than four years old, but no one who attended the conference of progressives in Chicago last week can doubt that it is already mature enough for the party big leagues.

In two days' time more than 300 delegates from 35 states hammered out a program and a plan for action for the next two years. The delegates stuck to their business, listened and exchanged experiences, drank little, thought a lot. They did not dodge issues and they did not pick factional fights.

To most of the veterans of prewar liberalism, it was almost too good to be true. The time usually wasted in name-calling and ideological disputes went rightly into discussions on the best way to get out the biggest vote, the easiest kind of money-raising event to sponsor. The CIO-PAC people in the meeting knew each other, but the rest had the excitement of finding new friends. Most of the 300 delegates hold top positions in their local or state political-action organization. They were almost unanimously thrilled and strengthened when they saw from the sample furnished by this meeting how numerous and how able their colleagues are in other parts of the country.

The four chief callers of the conference made keynote speeches at the first session on Saturday morning. Henry Morgenthau Jr. introduced Harold Ickes, Walter White and Philip Murray in turn. The audience was attentive and responsive, disappointed in the defeatist tone Ickes took, but encouraged by the implied promise in White's statement that Negro voters hold the balance of power in 17 states with 280 electoral votes. They knew that this was the first time that White, president of the powerful National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had attended a political-action meeting, and that he was not there because his board of directors sent him but because his conscience sent him.

After lunch two large, representative committees brought in reports on program and a plan of action. In the discussion there was no room for doubt about the motives of a single one of those who rose to suggest changes or additions to the program statement. Clearly everyone was anxious for the unity which the meeting represented and put future coöperation among the groups there ahead of everything else, including his own pet ideas. The panaceas that are so often the curse of any program discussion among the progressives were not brought up. The single tax and the gold content of the dollar remained in their appointed graves.

The foreign-policy statement, which has come so close to breaking up many similar meetings in the past was passed unanimously. No pro or anti-Soviet blocs formed during the discussion. Even those who have been known to engage in such frays at other times were restrained by their real desire to put the success of the conference first. There were no jokers in the foreign-policy report the committee presented. It went down the line for the kind of genuinely American policy demanded by Henry Wallace. Write to the PAC or the ICC for a copy and see for yourself.

Most of the reporters covering the meeting were looking for a peg on which to hang a story that this was really a third-party move. After Senator Pepper's address on Saturday night they gave up, for he made it as clear as he could that he would never back a third party, and that made it unanimous. No speaker approved a third party now, although a few urged that the door not be closed on the possibility until after the major parties had selected their nominees for 1948.

Senator Pepper invited all independent voters into the Democratic Party. Not even Bob Hannegan could have spoken more strongly for the party. But Pepper's reasons stemmed from liberalism, not party regularity. The only way in which progressives can gain political control is through the Democratic Party, in which they are free to work and organize, Pepper said. His full statement of this case was by far the most lucid and convincing most of the delegates had ever heard and many who had arrived in Chicago disillusioned by the firing of Wallace and President Truman's impossible conduct were visibly impressed and reassured, ready to go home and put their whole strength into winning a Democratic Congress on November 5.

But Wallace was the man of the hour for this group. They are looking to him for leadership more than ever before and they are counting on his coming to their particular crossroad to help win this 1946 campaign. His name drew the real ovations.

The conference's plan for action is, first, to put every ounce of energy into electing progressive candidates in November. "Five active progressive citizens in every precinct can ensure the election of a progressive Congress," the plan states. Between now and November 5, regional, state and local meetings of all the coöperating groups will mobilize to get 50 million voters to the polls on Election Day. After that, they will look to the future. Plans call for setting up a continuation committee of 50 members, representing a cross section of interested groups, to analyze the elections and plan a second conference of progressives to be held in Washington soon after Congress returns in January.

Progressives are at work. Henry Wallace and Claude Pepper have put a progressive victory in 1946 before pique or self. The 300 who met at Chicago can turn this election. Their work can get the independent vote to the polls.

Chicago HELEN FULLER

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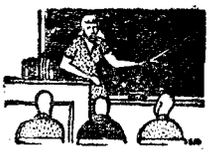

These Are the Facts About:

The Crisis in Education

As the new school year opens and millions of students jam the classrooms, it is well to remember that the growth of the American educational system is the story of the determined struggle of a free people to advance their standards through improved education. The present strengths and weaknesses of American democracy are in large part the result of the strengths and weaknesses of its educational system.

How Many Students and Pupils Are There?

Enrolments in all public elementary and secondary schools have reached a total of more than 27 million, about seven million of them in secondary schools. Approximately one and a half million students attend institutions of higher learning.

How Many Teachers Are There?

The total number of teachers in public elementary and secondary schools was 882,125 in 1945, as against 679,533 in 1920, 854,263 in 1930 and 875,477 in 1940. About 200,000 teachers were absent during the war. They were replaced by teachers of lesser training who were given temporary certificates.

How Much Are They Paid?

The national average pay for all teachers, supervisors and principals in 1943-44 was $1,755. Only 18 states were above this average. New York led with an average salary of $2,726. It was followed by New Jersey, with $2,353; Massachusetts, with $2,219; California, with $2,116; and Washington, with $2,099. Thirty states were below the national average. Mississippi was lowest on the scale, with an average salary of $790. It was exceeded by Arkansas, with $845; Georgia, with $923; South Carolina, with $973; and Tennessee and South Dakota, with $1,000.

How Do These Salaries Compare with Others?

In 1944-45 the average salary of teachers was at least $500 less than the average earnings in industry. Average annual earnings of industrial workers increased 56 percent between 1940 and 1945, while teachers' salaries rose only 11 percent. The estimated average salary of $1,786 for 1944-45 would buy only about what $1,350 would have bought in 1940.

How Much Should Teachers Get?

The National Education Association believed, in January of this year, that $2,500 should be the absolute minimum pay for all teachers. It thinks that present low wage standards are convincing evidence of the need for federal aid and minimum-salary legislation in the various states.

Are There Enough Teachers?

No. One teacher for each 100 persons in the total population should be a minimum requirement. That would give the United States 1.4 million teachers on the basis of the current census. But this goal cannot be reached unless salaries are increased and working conditions improved.

How Many Institutions of Higher Learning?

The total number of institutions of higher learning is 1,686. There are 699 colleges and universities, 255 professional schools, 206 teachers' colleges and normal schools, 420 junior colleges and 106 schools for Negroes. They are staffed by about 134,000 teachers.

How Many Veterans Are Expected to Enroll?

From surveys of servicemen's intentions, the best estimate of the number of veterans who would go to college on a full-time basis has been six percent—about 660,000. But it appears from the number of veterans now applying for and obtaining certificates of eligibility from the colleges that as many as 1.2 million veterans may go to college. This figure seems exaggerated, and experts believe that a total number of 800,000 will not be exceeded in the next four years, with 600,000 enrolled in 1946-47.

What About Foreign Students?

While the group of foreign students will not be large, its importance is great. India is now sending 500 students and plans to raise the figure to 2,000. About 3,000 Chinese and 4,000 Latin Americans have been studying in the United States in the last few years. It is estimated that the prewar number of roughly 10,000 students will be multiplied three to five times in the next few years. The American government encourages foreign students and they receive a high priority on college acceptance lists.

What Is the Estimated Enrolment in 1946-47?

The following table shows high and low college estimates for the coming school year:

	High	*Low*
Regular students	1,100,000	950,000
Veterans (with federal aid)	700,000	500,000
Former war workers	25,000	15,000
Foreign students	25,000	15,000
	1,850,000	1,480,000

Are the Colleges Overcrowded?

On the whole, it seems that colleges and universities will not be too crowded. Many of the smaller colleges of good standing and practically all teachers' and junior colleges have not filled their acceptance lists. The problem

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is one of better utilization of available facilities; prospective students should also be directed to the smaller and less-known colleges.

What About College Salaries?

No recent statistics are available, but figures for 1941-42 may have some value. College salaries ranged from about $1,800 for instructors to about $6,000 for deans in public institutions, and even to $8,000 in large private institutions. Recent upward adjustments bring instructors' salaries to about $2,600 to $3,000 in most schools.

How Much Is Our School System Worth?

Public education is an enterprise in mass management and one of the largest public businesses. Its plant, its personnel and annual expenditure all rank it among the largest governmental functions. The total value of the property and endowments of the public schools is probably well over $7 billion. Annual expenditures, including interest and capital outlay, are at a level of about $2.5 billion.

How Is School Money Raised?

School funds are raised locally and from the property tax. There are same 130,000 school districts in the United States, most of which raise their money separately. This means that if the tax base is broad, much money is available, but if it is narrow, funds are sharply curtailed. It means that some districts can build million-dollar schoolhouses with all the latest equipment, while others must use one-room shacks that cannot keep out the rain.

What Is the Per-Capita Expenditure?

The annual cost per pupil in average daily attendance, based on current expenses, was $117.36 in the United States as a whole during 1943-44. However, the differences in outlay between the states at the top and those at the bottom were enormous. While New York spent $198.49 per pupil, Mississippi spent only $42.35. Up in front with New York are New Jersey, which spent $196.55; California, with $170.52; Illinois, with $163.35; and Massachusetts, with $162.26. Among the five lowest, including Mississippi, were Arkansas, which spent $54.77; Alabama, with $54.93; Georgia, with $55.75; and Tennessee, with $62.75.

Can Federal Aid Equalize Expenditure?

Yes. It seems the only practicable way to achieve equal opportunity of education. A number of bills have been introduced in Congress, including suggestions for federal scholarships, fellowships and loans to individuals. But the most important measure is the Hill bill (S. 181), as amended on March 27, 1946.

What Does the Hill Bill Propose?

The Hill bill would make available to all states a minimum of $40 per year per pupil, by providing in each state the difference between that amount and the amount which could be raised through state and local funds at the same rate of effort as the nationwide average effort required to produce $40. The amount required to support the program would be about 1.1 percent of annual-income payments averaged over a span of five years.

What About Rural Education?

America's rural schools enroll more than 13 million pupils, about half of the nation's total. Nearly eight million of these children live in farm areas. The rural schools employ 470,000 teachers, or 52 percent of the total number. No fewer than 165,000 of them are in small schools with one to three teachers. In nearly 44,000 rural schools, attendance ranges from three to 17 pupils, the cost level per pupil being about $40. The average compensation of all elementary-school teachers in farm areas was about $600 in the thirties and is not much more today. Almost a fourth of these teachers have no preparation beyond a high-school education. Low expenditure levels in rural areas are reflected in poorly paid and insufficiently trained teachers, stereotyped textbook instruction without supplementary books and other teaching materials, shorter school terms and a general lack of health, welfare, guidance and other services known in city school systems. Federal aid would greatly improve this situation.

What About Negro Education?

Negro gains in this field have been impressive. In the 80-odd years since Emancipation, literacy among Negroes has risen from five to 85 percent. *But:* in most of the states where there are separate schools for Negroes, those for white children are far below the national average, even though the Negro schools are only about half as well supported as white schools. Statistics for length of school term, average attendance, educational qualifications of teachers, type of school buildings and other factors indicate that a wasteful neglect is characteristic of the treatment of Negro school children in most segregated areas.

And Higher Education for Negroes?

It is true that in 1916 the Negro colleges showed a total enrolment of only 2,637, as against over 45,000 in 1941. But monies allotted to Negro institutions in most Southern states are far below any proportionate figure based on relative Negro and white populations. Salaries paid in Negro schools of higher learning are in general far less than those in the white institutions. The physical plants of white and Negro institutions cannot be compared in value of property and type of equipment. The discrepancy is particularly great in graduate work. Not a single Negro institution grants a Ph.D., and few can offer a master's degree except in a very limited number of fields.

What About Private Schools?

There are about 12,000 private elementary and secondary schools in the United States. Nearly two-thirds are controlled by the Catholic Church, and about one-sixth are under other church auspices. Private schools enroll about one-tenth of the total number of elementary-school pupils and about one-sixteenth of the total number of high-school students. The Catholic school system, in 1945, included 7,493 parochial and 557 private elementary schools, with 2.1 million pupils; 1,599 diocesan or parochial and 762 private high schools, with 447,699 students; 210 colleges and universities, with 92,426 students; as well as 163 protective institutions for children and 8,053 religious vacation schools attended by 638,484 public-school pupils.

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A Special Section:

British Labor in Power

by Jack Winocour and Michael Young

THE SURPRISE and consternation of last year have faded into history. The surprise of the electoral victors has become the grasp of political mastery; the consternation of the beaten has turned to sour frustration. Interplay between the Labor majority and the Conservative minority perpetuates the tradition of the parliamentary system, which will again renew itself when administration and opposition clash in the session of the House of Commons which begins on October 8. But the issues involved exceed the limits hitherto imposed by tradition or social needs upon British Parliaments. In the relative tranquillity of recess it is possible to engage in stock-taking.

It has been a year of readjustment from the rigors of war to the trials of peace. In its multifold complex, peace has been as full of problems as war, and has lacked the sustaining effort of national unity which war alone made possible. Times have been tough at home and abroad, yet people have been tough, too. They have resisted the easy blandishments of those who urged the abandonment of national self-controls, and can now with some unselfish satisfaction look at the plight of less fortunate foreigners who prematurely anticipated their own millennium. Local government and by-elections tell the story. This is the first government in decades which has not lost a by-election in its first year of office.

THE TRIALS OF PEACE

Certainly peace has not been wonderful. Shortages remain acute—worse than anything expected by anyone except the expert economists of the Central Statistical Office. The blast of the blitz, erosion of overseas assets built up over a century of investment of the national surplus abroad, and, cruelest of all, the incalculable deterioration of capital equipment and human energy of the country which had mobilized itself with fanatical self-sacrifice (to echo the late Lord Keynes) to an extent unsurpassed by any other belligerent, inevitably resulted in a constriction of peacetime life. Yet when bread-rationing, avoided in the grimmest war years, imposed itself, the ever resourceful British housewife, who has manipulated coupons and ration points with unfailing ingenuity for seven lean years, still voted Left.

The queues, symbol of communal effort to share and share alike, are still with us. They are now part of the national legend, but their daily length diminishes. Rationing is still with us, fulfilling last year's election pledge of fair shares for all. It has meant that rich and poor have been treated alike. There is butter, there is bacon for all; not in the unlimited quantities of the almost forgotten prewar cornucopia, but the poor—and they are the workers who make up the great majority of the people of this island—can afford to buy their share. There are few other countries on this giddy planet where that happens. There is, too, a noticeable increase of household goods in the shops to make good the worn-out saucepans and kettles of the war years. The black market, index of scarcity, becomes grayer and grayer with the passing of each week.

WHAT SOCIALISM PROMISES

We don't live without bread alone. The government's policy of full employment has meant that the number of those without work in the period of transition from war to peace has been held to the minimum. True, there are pockets of temporary unemployment as in South Wales and Clydeside, but they will even themselves out as the reconversion program gathers impetus. It is not a shortage of work, but of men and women to do the work, which worries those in power. Beyond and above the problem of work is that of adjustment to work. It is in the mines, our basic source of power, that the fate of the Labor Government lies.

Away from home the British people have cause for both satisfaction and disquiet. At least the United Nations is functioning. No one can claim that it is a happy family, but at least it has survived the acrimonious inauguration of the Security Council last January, the frustrations of the Council of Foreign Ministers and the procedural quarrels of the Paris conference. Britain is within reasonable measure of settling her Egyptian and Indian problems. On the other hand, the British zone in Germany, and Palestine, are providing major difficulties in the conduct of foreign policy, and those difficulties are likely to grow rather than to decrease.

But to the people of Britain, what will matter most, provided they can be achieved within the framework of international peace, will be the long-term reforms, the outline of which can already be seen through the petty inconveniences and minor crises of the last year. Social

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security will become a living reality as a result of the National Insurance and Industrial Injuries Acts. Access to a first-class health service will become the right of all because of the national health legislation. Good housing will at last be brought within the reach of the low-income groups once the plans laid this year by Aneurin Bevan at the Ministry of Health have come to maturity. Town and country planning will clear up the tangled congestion of a century of slumdom and save the amenities of the countryside for the enjoyment of all. The promise of a high standard of living and a fair distribution of the products of national energy has been underpinned by solid preparation for maintaining full employment after the replacement boom, and by state ownership of basic industries and services.

To achieve this, Labor MP's have become the shock-workers of social democracy. In the last session, spurred on as never before by the indefatigable Herbert Morrison, they have placed some seventy Acts of Parliament on the statute books, many of them of major social importance—and this with full respect for the opposition's right to debate and criticize. Labor in the House of Commons has shown that socialist planning can be reconciled with political freedom and that controlled economics need not interfere with the liberty of the individual citizen to think and say what he believes.

National consciousness of the significance of the British experiment is growing. A new generation of young Socialists, uninhibited by the doctrinairism and ideological hangover of the past, are making their voices heard at Labor Party educational schools up and down the country to the effect that Britain can, in the second half of the twentieth century, pioneer in social organization as she pioneered the industrial revolution in the first half of the nineteenth century. If Britain shows that she can do it, July, 1945, they suggest, will mark a turning point in world history as decisive as 1917 in Russia and 1789 in France.

The Home Front: Progress and Reform

1. Nationalization

AT THE HEART and head of the Labor Government's economic program is the policy of nationalization, and it is here that its conflict with the Conservative and Liberal opposition is most acute. The full program laid down in the party manifesto, "Let Us Face the Future," on which Labor won the general election, included the public ownership of credit (the Bank of England), coal, inland transport (rail, road, civil aviation), iron and steel, electricity and gas supply, and telecommunications (the last at the express request of the governments of the Commonwealth).

So far the nation has assumed ownership of the Bank of England, of the coal mines (effective January, 1947), telecommunications and civil aviation. Under the last head three public corporations are already functioning: British Overseas Airways (covering North Atlantic, Africa, Asia and Australasia), British European Airways and British South American Airways; and there is direct ownership and operation of all airports by the Ministry of Civil Aviation.

In spite of the opposition's charges that nationalization is being carried out arbitrarily and dogmatically, without regard to economic logic, the government can offer cogent reasons for its claim that nationalization forms part of a reasoned and planned economic policy. It provides a rock foundation for the Labor Party's aim of full national employment through large-scale public investment, particularly in the coal and iron and steel industries which are desperately in need of capital reëquipment if they are to be an asset instead of a drain upon the nation.

In addition, public ownership strengthens industrial morale. For more than a century and a half private industry in Britain has been an arena for continuous struggle between the employers and the working class. The workers have been suspicious of management because they believed the profits of their labor have gone to absentee capitalists who performed no useful function. Nationalization gives the worker the stimulus which comes from self-ownership, and levels the barrier between management (itself subject to the same obligations as the worker) and labor, enabling them both to collaborate to the national advantage in increased output. Nowhere is this more important than in the coal industry, where relations between miner and owner have been embittered for generations. The government believes that only nationalization can call a halt to absenteeism, stem the outflow of labor from mining areas and encourage miners to send their sons into their own trade.

In the view of the government, nationalization will also lift the level and competence of management. Nepotism has been for too long a chronic weakness of British commerce and industry. In a nationalized industry it is hoped that managerial appointments will be made solely on grounds of ability and efficiency. Among other advantages of the nationalization program is its stimulus to public investment in order to carry out essential schemes of modernization. The private investor will no longer subscribe to mine or railway issues because of lack of confidence and incentive, but the government can borrow freely in the easy money market of today at vastly lower rates of interest than private companies can obtain. And finally nationaliza-

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tion brings in its wake the advantages of large-scale organization without the danger of monopoly. Labor, particularly technical workers, can be employed more usefully. Private monopolies can achieve these advantages, but generally they do so at the expense of the consumer; and more important from the point of view of society, public ownership reverses the trend toward the corporate state.

In all cases of nationalization a fair price assessed by an independent tribunal will be paid by the government on transfer of privately owned assets. What is a fair price is bound to be a matter of debate, and it should be pointed out that while some private shareholders are complaining about their compensation, there is an increasing amount of criticism from the Left that the inflated costs of compensation will be a drag on the full utilization of newly acquired national assets.

The organization of industries scheduled for nationalization has its prototype in the National Coal Board, consisting of top-level technicians, managers, trade unionists and accountants, appointed without regard to party affiliation or ideology (another cause of criticism from the Left). All property in the industry is vested in the Board, which is appointed by the Minister of Fuel and Power (Emanuel Shinwell). The Board will not be subject to parliamentary supervision and investigation of its day-to-day operations, but will issue its report and publish its accounts annually. The Board will be expected to pay interest to the Treasury on the capital value of the industry and, over a period, this should equal the interest to be paid by the Treasury as compensation.

2. Labor and Private Enterprise

NATIONALIZED INDUSTRIES will, however, account for only 15 percent of the total manpower employed in productive work. For years to come, the remainder of the national economy will be privately operated and owned. Despite wild charges preferred by its more extravagant critics, the government cannot afford to throttle private business, and in fact must encourage it to the limit in the export trades upon which British solvency depends. The excess-profits tax has already been substantially reduced and will end this year. Relaxation of manpower controls has enabled export manufacturers to attract the pick of the labor force. At present more than 1.3 million workers are employed in export production. The target figure for the year's end is 1.6 million (of a total labor force of 20 million), contrasted with a peak of 990,000 in 1939. At its lowest ebb in 1943, exports claimed only 257,000 workers; obviously, the rate of reconversion has been rapid.

To achieve solvency in the balance of overseas payments which Britain must make to survive, the volume of exports must exceed that of 1939 by 75 percent. One quarter of all manufactured products as against 15 percent before the war must be exported in future. In the record month of July, 1946, exports were 20 percent over 1939. The target figure is a long way off, but prospects are encouraging, as British exporters have an unsatisfied market abroad and orders that will take years to fill.

Exports abroad mean shortages at home, particularly in durable consumers' goods, but there are signs that the empty shop shelves are beginning to fill up.

Although the property rights of private ownership will not be infringed by government action, the operation of private industries remains subject to certain necessary controls. Early in its terms of office the government passed the Supplies and Services (Transitional Services) Act providing for the continuance of price controls, certain manpower controls, and giving the government discretionary powers for relief and rehabilitation work at home and abroad. The period during which the act will be in force is five years, and during this time it will be possible for the government to steer the national economy.

Symptomatic of the new trend in industry has been the institution of working parties, comprising representatives of government, industry and trade unions, to examine the problems of specific industries and to make recommendations to Sir Stafford Cripps, president of the Board of Trade, for the improvement of distribution and trade processes. So far working parties have been established for boots and shoes, carpets, linoleum, clothing, cotton, china, clay, pottery, jewelery and silverware, glassware, furniture, jute, lace, wool and hosiery. The cotton and pottery reports have already been presented, and the former contains radical recommendations for the improvement of the industry.

3. Full Employment

THE FEAR OF unemployment, which for generation after generation undermined British working-class morale, has lost its sharpness. Whatever government was in power today, the accumulated purchasing power of the war years would be adequate to maintain full employment for a considerable period. But when the cream of wartime savings held both by individual citizens and corporations has been skimmed to satisfy the most urgent demands for replacement goods, there could once more be a deflationary cycle. The government is preparing against this.

Its general aim is to prevent unemployment, but if it does appear as a result of extraneous causes (as, for example, a slump in the United States), the government plans to offset it. Full employment will be maintained as in war by ensuring that public needs are clothed with purchasing power adequate to buy all the goods and services which can be produced by available man-

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power. In this respect the government has passed beyond Keynesian (or New Deal) economics with its emphasis on government action to redress the balance of unemployment caused by the failure of private enterprise to provide jobs. The Labor Government is not prepared to allow private enterprise to have the first pick of the manpower resources of the nation and then to come to its rescue when need arises by public-works schemes and similar policies of economic salvage. Transfer of labor from shut-down factories to, say, road-building cannot be carried out without social friction and the dislocation of family life.

Britain's New Financial Policy

The first step in implementing the policy of full employment has been to gain control of the country's financial system by nationalizing the Bank of England. The Bank has always been the mainspring of financial policy, determining the extension or contraction of credit; but it has been privately owned and there have been occasions in the past when the Governors of the Bank have been at odds with the policies of the government of the day, as in 1929-31. There would always be the danger that in private hands the Bank might be used to brake or even sabotage Labor's program. Nationalization has removed this danger and ensures that the Treasury will be able to regulate interest rates and general financial policy in line with the over-all national economic plan.

Besides the nationalization of the Bank, the Treasury has obtained authority to regulate the flow of private investment away from inflationary channels by the Borrowing (Control and Guarantees) Act. Companies undertaking new borrowing will require the permission of the Capital Issues Committee, acting with the advice of the National Investment Council. If private demands for fresh capital fall below a desirable level, the Treasury under the same act can guarantee loans to private companies up to $200 million annually, and, if necessary, this limit can be raised.

The major change brought about by the government's new financial policy is the expansion of the public-investment sector of British economy. In the past the fluctuation of private investment has been the engine of booms and slumps. The merit of public investment is that it can be stabilized and is immune to the psychological factors which influence private capitalists. The public-housing program alone will absorb a considerable proportion of the total annual investment for the next ten years. Nationalization of certain key industries will also bring under national control a large additional investment sector.

The greater part of investment in years to come will be under public direction. It will remain stable provided the balance of private investment does not fluctuate wildly. If private investment falls off, public investment will be extended to take up the slack; thus, if the privately owned automobile industry contracts its capital program, investment in the nationalized railways may be extended.

The main aim of the government's financial policy is to raise the general level of consumption. This is being done by redistribution of the national income in favor of the lower-income groups. On the expenditure side of the National Budget, social services, mainly to the benefit of the poor, are being enlarged and an increasing part of the budget will be spent on them. On the revenue side, fiscal policy provides for a more progressive system of taxation. First to obtain substantial tax reliefs were the lower-income groups; and Hugh Dalton's two budgets relieved two and a half million workers from payment of income tax altogether, while the surtax was raised. In order to level the accumulation of unearned capital and inherited income, death duties have been substantially raised and provision made for Treasury acquisition of land in lieu of duties. Already the nation has benefited by gaining ownership of natural beauty spots, like Lake Bala in North Wales and Brothers' Water in Westmoreland.

The net result of these changes in financial and fiscal policy will be to increase the future rate and level of spending. Many economists, including Keynes, have pointed out that the rich spend a smaller proportion of their income than the poor. Any redistribution of income from the rich to the poor, therefore, raises the total of spending. Although this policy means that at present there is more purchasing power available than desirable—and consequently more inflationary pressure—in the long run the national economy will be insulated, by spending power, against unemployment.

Butterworth in the Manchester Daily Dispatch

A Few Problems for Mr. Attlee

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The government is also taking measures to alleviate localized unemployment. Of the present unemployed population of 300,000, the bulk is concentrated in the former depressed areas of South Wales, Tyneside, Cumberland and the Scottish lowlands. These areas suffered most before the war because they were the centers of decaying industries (coal, shipbuilding), while under private, planless capitalism new industries were set up where they were least needed.

Government now controls the location of new factories according to the terms of the Distribution of Industries Act, introduced by Hugh Dalton when he was president of the Board of Trade in the Coalition Government. The act bears the weakness of its mixed parentage, since the Board of Trade was not empowered to restrict the establishment of new factories in already congested areas like London. The system of building licenses has helped to overcome this weakness. Industrialists who want to build new factories must obtain a license, and this is not usually granted unless the projected factory is in a depressed (now called development) area. Since many industrialists have been anxious to avail themselves of postwar boom conditions, the success of this policy has been considerable. Between the end of the war and June 30, 1946, of 1,500 new factories approved by the government, 600 are to be in the development areas and they will employ 77,000 men and 66,000 women. Among new factories are the great nylon plant in South Wales, a huge new chemical works in the northeast and the factory of American-owned National Cash Registers at Dundee. In addition to new factory development, many of the wartime emergency factories built in depressed areas because of their security from enemy raiders have been leased to private enterprise.

4. Housing and Town Planning

WITHOUT a successful housing program the Labor Government cannot hope to survive the test of the polls. Nationalization, full employment, control of investment, and the general economic plan will avail nothing unless they are accompanied by steady improvement in housing conditions for the mass of the people. Adequate shelter is still the primary need of millions of people in Britain, as public-opinion polls and the current movement of squatters demonstrate.

The problem is acute. Even in peacetime working-class housing lagged far behind the provision of dwellings for the middle classes. The building boom of the thirties sprang from the urge of small owners to buy their own houses with the assistance of Building Society mortgages. Cities like London and Birmingham mushroomed into unplanned dormitory suburbs. Men and women took longer and longer in their journeys to and from work. But bomb damage has added enormously to the government's difficulties. Of a total of 13 million dwellings, 25,000 were totally destroyed, 300,000 rendered uninhabitable and five million damaged.

Even more serious than the blitz is the growing backlog of repairs. Before the war one-third of the total building labor force was engaged continuously on this work, and so far only one-half of the prewar force has been available. The substantial increase in the number of families, the growing birth rate and the unprecedented geographical movements of population due to the war all contribute to the demand for homes.

The government's long-term program is to build four million new homes by the end of 1956. But meanwhile it has embarked on a short-term program of 160,000 prefabricated houses by the end of next winter. Diversion of labor and materials to the short-term program is bound to obstruct the long-term plan.

BEVAN'S HUGE TASK

Aneurin Bevan, who as Minister of Health is charged with the execution of housing policy, hopes that the experience gained in the construction of prefabricated houses will be of benefit in the long-range program. Two types of permanent prefabricated houses for urban and rural use are being developed, and Ministry of Supply factories formerly engaged on aircraft production are now turning out aluminum prefabs on the conveyor-belt system. In addition, timber prefabs are being imported from Sweden and Czechoslovakia.

Besides the prefab program, every effort is being made to persuade householders to let spare rooms to the homeless and to overcrowded tenants. Local authorities have been empowered to requisition and convert existing dwellings if they remain unoccupied. By this means more than 20,000 families have obtained shelter. In order to free building labor for speedy conversion of existing premises, a strict licensing system has been imposed for repairs.

The aim of the long-term housing program is to build permanent housing for the working classes, who in the past have inherited dilapidated semi-slums evacuated by the middle classes. The plan presupposes houses to rent rather than for sale. Private builders cannot meet this demand. They are not in a position to tie up their capital in houses over a long period, and must sell soon after building has been completed. That is why local authorities have become the prime agents in the government's housing program. Other advantages from concentration of the bulk of the building program in the hands of local authorities are: cheaper borrowing, which enables them to allocate housing to the poorer sections of the people; superior materials, because the builder remains the owner and has an interest in preserving the property; cheaper prices for materials because of purchases in bulk; local planning; and the use of housing as part of the government's full-employment policy.

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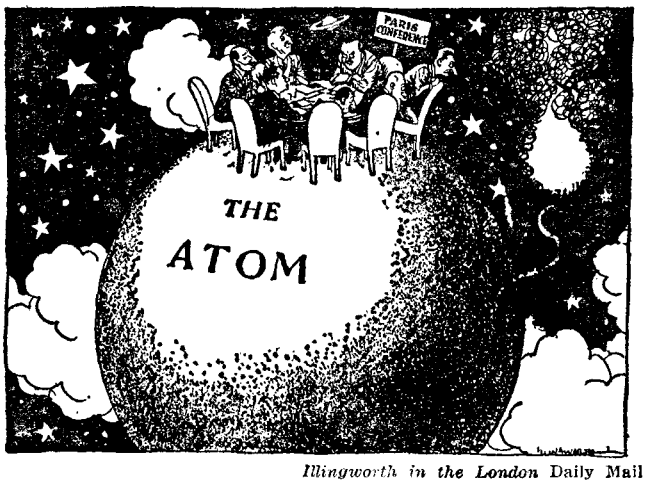
Results so far are modest. Thirty-five thousand temporary houses, and 13,000 permanent dwellings were completed by the end of June. At present 77,000 houses are under construction by local authorities, and 32,000 by private builders. The target figure for both temporaries and permanents is 100,000 each by the end of the year.

Meanwhile the rents of existing houses have been strictly controlled at 1939 levels, and rent restrictions have been extended to furnished houses and apartments by the Furnished Houses (Rent Control) Act of 1946.

Keeping pace with the government's building program is the development of town and country planning, stimulated by the destruction of the war years. London, Plymouth, Manchester, Liverpool, Clydebank, Hull, Bath and Bristol are only a few of the cities which have prepared their plans for reconstruction. The Coalition Government's Town Planning Act of 1944 proved too clumsy an instrument for the compulsory purchase of land, and the Acquisition of Land Act (1946) makes the procedure much simpler. The coming session of Parliament will see the initiation of new legislation for compensation and betterment, enabling local authorities to increase the taxes on property whose value has been enhanced by planned development.

The work of destruction is already under way. In London's East End, Stepney, once a teeming slum district, is to completely rebuilt, with avenues, squares and parks. All reconstruction work has as its ultimate end the decentralization of population from crowded cities to new satellite towns with their own accessible industries. The Greater London plan indicates possible sites for ten entirely new towns and ten major expansions of existing small towns and villages; the total population to be settled in new towns throughout the country may be in the neighborhood of four millions. The New Towns Act of 1946 provides for setting up public development corporations to carry out the work of decentralization.



Illingworth in the London Daily Mail

Basis for Agreement

5. The Central Services

THE LABOR GOVERNMENT aims to bring to fruition within its present term of office some of the major portions of its social-service program, which in many respects goes beyond the famous Beveridge Plan's provisions for social care from the cradle to the grave. The social-service plan includes financial assistance for those who have been deprived of income for reasons outside their own control (unemployment, accident, illness), provision of medical care for the sick and for expectant mothers, as well as a system of preventive medicine for the healthy; and the extension and improvement of educational facilities to provide equal opportunity.

The first aims of the social program have been achieved by legislation suggested by the Beveridge Plan. The National Insurance Act (1946), the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act (1946) and the Families Allowances Act (1945) are the relevant statutes. The first provides for contributions by employee, employer and the state, and for a standard rate of benefits (26 shillings—about $5.25—for a single person, 42 shillings for a married couple living together, seven shillings, sixpence, for the first child, and 16 shillings for an adult dependent) payable in the case of unemployment, sickness or retirement and supplemented by maternity grants and allowances and widows' allowances and pensions in appropriaate cases. The Industrial Injuries Act allows 45 shillings weekly to workers incapacitated by accident or industrial disease. The Families' Allowances Act gives five shillings per week for all children under school-leaving age except the first. It will be supplemented by free milk, and later by free meals, in the schools.

BENEFITS TO ALL

The National Health Service legislation establishes a public-health service to whose benefits all classes are entitled. Contrary to the adverse criticism of some sections of the medical profession in Britain and abroad, it does not abolish private medical practice. Doctors are permitted to practise, and patients are allowed to choose their own doctor. The Act encourages group medicine through the organization of local Health Service Centers, in which specialists may make use of individual consulting rooms, laboratories, operating theatres and the like, and arrange their work on a rotating basis. This will provide invaluable experience and opportunity for young doctors who wish to specialize but are unable to do so for economic reasons. All hospitals are to be brought under public ownership and grouped regionally.

In the field of education the government is implementing the Coalition's 1944 Act, which provides for a national system of education beginning with nursery schools, which all local authorities are now under obligation to establish. Infant and elementary schools cater

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to children up to the age of twelve, when they will enter one of three types of secondary school: grammar, technical and modern. The school-leaving age will be raised to 15 in April, 1947, and will be raised again to 16 as soon as feasible. By placing technical and modern schools on a parity with grammar schools, the government hopes to attract children toward occupational training more in line with present social needs.

But in this first postwar year, educational plans are still very largely at the mercy of the shortage of man and woman-power and of adequate school premises. The teachers' shortage is being met by emergency training schemes in which tens of thousands of young ex-servicemen and women are participating.

Government grants to universities have also been increased from $15.2 million to $38 million, and there is to be a great expansion of universities in the future. Many new government scholarships are being made available to supplement existing educational aids, for all sections of the community are fully aware of the urgent necessity of a large student population to maintain technological progress.

Britain Abroad: Foreign Policy

WHILE Britain has been struggling with the multitude of her domestic problems, the residue of six years of war and almost a decade of neglect, her interests and obligations abroad have confronted Labor ministers with a succession of crises. Greece, Indonesia, Iran, India, Egypt and Palestine have been major centers of concern. Nearer home, the economic plight of the British zone of Germany, which is costing the taxpayer $320 million a year, and the succession of brushes and clashes with the Russians, in which the United States has participated, have given Ernest Bevin the hardest job of any member of the government.

Bevin is probably the biggest man in the Labor Government. He is also, in spite of fierce criticism from the Left, probably the most popular with the general public, which is rather tired of seeing Britain kicked around the international lot. But it would be unfair both to Bevin and to his colleagues to suggest that British foreign policy is of his personal making.

Labor's foreign policy appears to the superficial observer to be full of contradictions, and, indeed, there must be inner conflicts between the generous impulses which spring from a socialist way of life and thought and the harsh necessities imposed by history, geography and economics. Critics on the Left would do well to ponder the history of Russian foreign policy since the revolution. It, too, bears all the traces of improvisation, opportunism and accident with which British policy is charged today. The purpose of this comparison is to explain, not to explain away.

First of all, it is necessary to understand that Labor cannot undo in one year the *facts* of three centuries, even were it wise to attempt to do so. Foreign policy must grow. It must have the men and the machinery to help it grow, and the process of training the personnel and building the machinery is likely to be slow.

Any British government, Conservative, Socialist or Communist, is faced with certain ineluctable facts: Britain is a strategically vulnerable island, frighteningly vulnerable in the atom and rocket age; her population is only 46 million, yet her direct political interests lie over one-quarter the surface of the world; her sea and air routes, essential for trade (which is her life) and security, lie through or over parts of the world in which the interests of other powers may collide sharply with hers, or in which new and convulsive social and political movements render her position precarious.

Unfortunately Socialist ministers, like their predecessors, find it difficult to interpret foreign policy in other than the language of morals. Power has its own language, and it is not always morally used; and good men sometimes act ambiguously in the name of good.

1. Britain and the UN

WHEN Clement Attlee told the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in London last January that "the United Nations must become the overriding factor in foreign policy," he spoke with sincerity and conviction. Britain has in fact during the past year played a leading role in attempting to strengthen the organization and authority of the United Nations. Those who attended the first meetings of the Security Council will remember the frankness and freedom with which Ernest Bevin met the charges of British malfeasance in Greece and Indonesia. He did not withdraw behind the curtain of the veto, and in fact it was Bevin who on another earlier occasion in the House of Commons threw out the bold suggestion that the UN should work toward becoming a directly elected World Parliament of Man.

But it is not the battleground of the Security Council, but the less spectacular work of the Economic and Social Council on which the Labor foreign team (Bevin, Noel-Baker, McNeil) have endeavored to emphasize. Bevin, as a trade unionist, understands the economic basis of society. Rightly or wrongly, he believes that, given a sound economic foundation, the political superstructure will be clean-cut and durable.

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Once the tangle of postwar frontiers, relocations of populations, stigmata of injured national pride, have been cleared away, in Bevin's view, economic logic will compel the United Nations to work together toward a more equitable international division of national resources and the raising of the world standard of living. This may be a dream, but at least it is a socialist's dream.

But within, and indeed sometimes without, the periphery of the United Nations, the concrete relations of Britain with her two major wartime allies, the United States and the Soviet Union, have been the cause of ministerial and official perplexity.

2. Britain and the United States

THE UNWRITTEN ALLIANCE between Britain and the United States has successfully endured the shocks and jolts of an uncertain year. No one will claim that the relationship between the Labor Government and the Truman Administration contains the warmth and cordiality of the wartime association of Roosevelt and Churchill. Their inner philosophy is at odds, and at times it would appear that the ties of the alliance tighten only as Russian conduct toward the outside world grows more obdurate. But both Britain and America seem united on major external aims, in spite of a widening gulf between the domestic social outlook of the two countries.

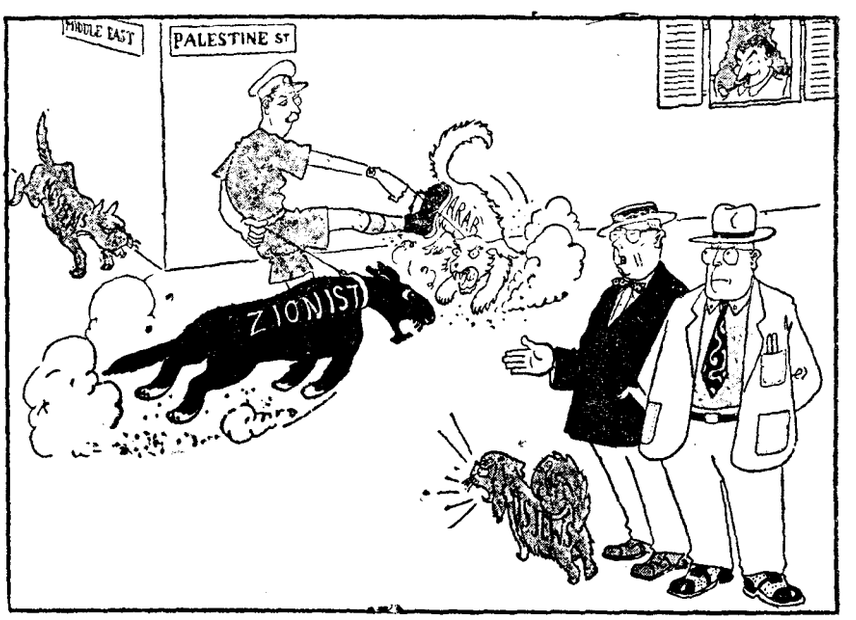
The British public wondered at the long time required for the American loan to be approved by the Congress. It is always easier to be a borrower than a lender, but they had hoped that the loan would have been understood by America, not as a financial transaction, but as a means of unblocking the channels of world trade, benefiting America as much as Britain.

Beyond doubt the most serious cause of strain between the two transatlantic partners has been the Palestine question. At the outset it should be stated that British government policy in Palestine has been the cause of much heart-searching among not only the rank-and-file membership of the Labor Party, but also on the part of a number of Labor ministers, who had previously committed themselves to a policy with which the present government line appears at complete variance. But slowly and uncertainly a policy has been evolved. Events, most prominent among which are the tragic outbreak of terrorist violence by a section of frustrated Palestine Jewry and the inevitable counter-offensive of the Palestine government and military, have dictated this policy. It provides for modified partition, and provincial autonomy with the reservation of important powers to the High Commissioner. It is certainly not the policy envisaged by conference after conference of the Labor Party, or, as has already been indicated, by many ministers themselves. And it has met with the coolest response both from Arabs and Jews.

But what has particularly irked the British is their belief that American attitudes toward Palestine lack responsibility, and that too often the United States appears in the role of an accuser, criticizing from the sidelines, without making any positive contribution to the solution of a problem which has become more than Britain's alone.

For the British, Palestine is part of a much larger whole, of the turbulent Middle East, where lie oilfields and sea and air routes which link the Commonwealth. British policy in this area is a curious mixture of self-interest and altruism. It is not a unilateral policy; for so much depends on the growth of Arab nationalism, which is not, as many believe, the creation of the British themselves, but springs from the social and economic revolution through which the Middle East is passing. British interest in the area could not fail to be affected, too, by Russian pressures through Iran and Turkey southward.

The granting of independence to Transjordan and the negotiations for the withdrawal of British forces from Egypt form part of the readjustment of British policy in the Middle East. They are tokens of good intentions. In the conflict between right and right which unhappily exists between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, no British government could fail to note the preponderance of numbers and influence which incline the scales on the Arab side. This may appear like



Bunbury in the London Sunday Express

"Now if I were the guy handling this situation, I'd let that poor little black dawg right off the leash."

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appeasement, but the British sometimes ask whether realism would not be the word used if other powers than Britain were involved.

3. Russia, India, the Colonies

With her other great wartime partner, the Soviet Union, relations have steadily deteriorated. The British believe that they are not to blame, but that Russia by her own conduct has frittered away the enormous stockpile of good will which she built up in Britain by her exertions in battle. Certainly the constant stream of anti-British propaganda which has emanated from the Moscow transmitters, and the studied efforts of Communist Parties throughout the world to denigrate the actions and policies of British Labor, have not conduced to a decent relationship between the two countries. Too often has it appeared that the major aim of Soviet foreign policy was to drive a wedge between British and American public opinion.

On the other hand, Britain cannot fail to be adversely affected by the simultaneous and much more serious growth of tension between the United States and Russia. If the wartime dream that Britain might construct a bridge of understanding between America and the Soviet Union seems now to be fading, nevertheless neither government nor people in Britain want to find themselves on the other side of the barricades from the Russians.

Few in Britain believe that anything is to be gained by a dramatic showdown with Russia. Although the iron curtain may be lowered for the time being, there is still hope here that conciliation and compromise on both sides may eventually succeed in raising it.

The difference in policy between the Labor Government and its predecessors has been most marked in its approach to the Indian problem. If the government has been the target for attack, even by its warmest supporters, over Palestine, Greece and Spain, the only critics of its efforts to resolve the Indian crisis have been the Tories.

In India the government acted with firmness and decision and in fullest sympathy with the demands of articulate Indian public opinion. Clement Attlee broke with the past in leaving it to the Indians themselves to decide whether or not they would remain members of the British Commonwealth. He sent the strongest possible team to obtain a solution.

If the intransigence of Jinnah and the Moslem League frustrate British Labor's efforts to achieve a peaceful transition of power into Indian hands, history will record where the blame lies.

The principle of colonial trusteeship has for long been part of British Labor's program. In the past year there have been many indications of an attempt to accelerate the tendency toward self-government. If progress has not been faster, it is because of the pressing economic problems which the war has left in its wake.

Ceylon has been granted complete domestic self-government. In the West Indies the first elections under complete adult suffrage have taken place in Trinidad and in British Guiana. The trade-union and coöperative movements are being encouraged to take root and grow throughout the colonial empire, while appropriations for health, education and the social services are being steadily increased.

Government and Party

There is the record. But one cannot conclude this appraisal of British Labor's first year of power without some mention of the engineers at the controls.

In spite of his detractors—and they are to be found outside the ranks of the labor and trade-union movement, and not within it—Clement Attlee has gained enormously in stature and national esteem. He lacks the compelling personality of Bevin or Morrison. He does not glow with the warmth of his great predecessor in office. But he has shown himself undisputed master in his own house and commands the unflinching allegiance of his colleagues. Attlee's talents lie in committee, in the reconciliation of conflicting views and their synthesis into agreed policies.

Of his colleagues Bevin ranks largest in public affection. He has brought to international affairs something of the bluntness of the trade-union organizer. If he lacks tact, he is strong in conviction. The recasting of the age-crusted Foreign Office is taking longer than perhaps he thought would be needed, and at times he has shown impatience with his critics from the Left, who would have liked to see more obvious signs of change. In Greece and Spain he has held tenaciously to policies which are perhaps unpopular with the party as a whole, but he has routed his critics both in Parliament and in party conference.

Next in importance must be Herbert Morrison, who as leader of the House of Commons has been responsible for drilling the Labor majority into a speedy and efficient legislative team for carrying out a socialist program. It is upon Morrison that the Conservative opposition has concentrated its fire. He has successfully survived their salvoes and given as good in return.

At the Treasury Hugh Dalton has been responsible for the first peacetime budgets, which although they carry the austere imprint of war, at least have held out hope of eventual national solvency, and have been directed toward social ends rather than to the relief of the wealthy taxpayer. He has proved a major parliamentary asset to his party.

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At the Board of Trade Sir Stafford Cripps has brought purpose and energy to the export drive, as well as contributing in great measure to the success of the cabinet mission to India. Of the others, Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health, has matured from opposition to statesmanship. He has staked his career upon building the houses which the people need, and his future will depend upon whether and how quickly he can deliver. Among the younger ministers, John Strachey has risen quickly, but he too will be tested severely by difficulties which may be out of his control; since so much depends upon American food policy, as Sir Ben Smith discovered to his cost. Another minister, once renowned in opposition, but now charged with heavy burdens in the reorganization of the coal industry is Emanuel Shinwell. His time of trial will be next winter.

The Right Men for the Jobs

So far Attlee has carefully maintained the balance between the trade-union and "intellectual" wings of the party; but the Prime Minister would be the first to recognize that party loyalty and length of service to the cause cannot be substitutes for administrative ability. On the morrow of his election to office he promised that he would find the right men for the jobs and would not hesitate to make changes if they were required. Some of those changes may be impending.

However brilliant the capabilities of ministers, they are nevertheless qualified by the efficiency and resiliency of the permanent officials. Progress toward socialism has been made easier in Britain by the fact that civil servants do not change with successive governments, and the Labor Government has had the advantage of the continued service of managers and administrators who have behind them a long tradition of public service divorced from political bias.

But on the debit side it must be said that the bureaucratic machinery of wartime government which has been carried over into peace is an imperfect instrument for the realization of a major social revolution. If the civil service has a weakness, it is in its inclination to play safe and slow.

Socialism is not a matter of machinery alone. The acquisition of power has deprived British Socialists of their supreme asset in opposition—moral fervor. The old evangelicalism of the movement has become part of history, and there is little of the crusading spirit left in the land. But then nations cannot live indefinitely on their nerves, and Britain, in common with other European countries which have passed through the dark valley of war, is in a sense passing through a phase of spiritual weariness. The passion for security of life and job is intense. The war has deeply scarred the subconscious of each man and woman, and anxieties for the future are overshadowed by memories of the past. This cannot be the time for a neo-Elizabethan renaissance, but rather for a slow process of convalescence.

Meanwhile the opposition to socialism is negative. It lacks principle and drive, but even more important, it lacks the human assets of leadership. It can, however, appeal to lethargy, frustration and nihilism among social classes which feel they have little future for individual profit in the nascent welfare state.

Other parties remain static, but the Labor Party, soaring on the crest of power, has doubled its membership in the past year, and now numbers upwards of a half-million individual affiliations in addition to the block adherence of the trade unions, which have attained numbers and prestige unprecedented in their history. In spite of internal disagreements upon separate aspects of domestic or foreign policy, the party is free of factional quarrels or separatist tendencies, as the Bournemouth conference clearly showed.

Communist affiliation has become a dead issue. The Communists have passed their zenith with the decline of Soviet prestige. There has been a decline, too, of socialist radicalism within the party, now that it has ceased to play the role of critical opposition and has assumed the heavy cares of office. This trend has its own dangers. At Bournemouth it frequently appeared that Labor ministers were reporting, not as members of the party to their colleagues, but as a government to its constituents. As though to stress this new direction of the party, Philip Noel-Baker, Minister of State, succeeded Harold Laski as its chairman.

In the House of Commons so far no "ginger group" has appeared. Old rebels like Bevan and Shinwell are now on the front bench, and no one has taken their places. On occasional questions of foreign policy there have been mild fireworks from the back benches, but there has been little caucusing, and combinations of dissidents have been infrequent and ephemeral.

At the end of its first year of office there have been no signs that the Labor Government, backed by its substantial parliamentary majority, cannot survive the rest of its natural term of years.

André François in Action

"Don't take too much, it is very salty."

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Government with Its Hands Tied

by Richard Lee Strout

THERE'S A BETTER than fair chance that the Republicans will win control of the House this fall. If they do it will mean a two-year period of frustration and deadlock in Washington. It would leave President Truman out on a limb, for the GOP-controlled House could veto every proposal he offered. It is the most dangerous situation that can develop under our Constitution.

This state of affairs is nothing new. A similar deadlock occurred in the last two years of the Taft Administration. For a while Congress wouldn't even vote Taft the funds necessary to carry on government. It occurred in the last two years of the Wilson Administration. It resulted in the defeat of the League, and perhaps caused World War II. It happened in Hoover's last two years, in the midst of a terrible depression.

A deadlock in which one house of Congress is controlled by a party other than the President's hasn't occurred for 14 years, so most of us have forgotten what it's like. But it's a commonplace of the American constitutional system. The record shows that 27 out of a total of 79 American Congresses presented such a condition. In other words, in about one-third of them the governmental motor car strained against its own locked brakes.

Is the constitutional machinery that permits such an emergency to develop adequate? Today the American nation has bigger problems than ever before; the chances of solving them are so slim and the penalties for failure so great that, to a conscientious observer, the prospect is nothing short of harrowing. We are committed to two goals more difficult than any we have hitherto set ourselves: full employment at home and world peace abroad. If we fail in the first and end up in another depression like that of 1929 we may come close to revolution. Already wide cracks have appeared in Wall Street. If we fail in the second we are sunk anyway, The Bomb being what it is.

The founding fathers deliberately gave the United States a weak central government. Even with the amendments and, more important, the changes made without constitutional amendment (like the virtual scrapping of the Electoral College), there remains embedded in the Constitution this basic feature: divided authority between the executive and the legislature, and their swords'-point rivalry is today the most significant factor in the American government.

Richard Lee Strout is the Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor.

If the Republicans capture the House this fall, that rivalry will be so obvious that even the dullest can see it. But the essential conflict goes much deeper; it goes on even when the White House and Congress are nominally controlled by the same party. It has been an almost constant phenomenon since the nation began. No other characteristic so strongly differentiates the American from other democratic systems. It is hardly known in parliamentary governments. It creates a steady, debilitating, frittering away of efficiency and force. I think it is more dangerous now than it ever was, even under Wilson, when the League was at stake. And palliatives will not solve it; the problem must be faced for what it is—one requiring direct constitutional surgery.

AN INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

People said "things would be different" under Truman. That was under the theory that the whole affair is a personality problem. But it is not a matter of personalities, it is institutional. No man ever came to the White House with a stronger determination to get on with Congress. But although the Democrats nominally control Congress, Truman's legislative program is hopelessly stalled, with no end to the conflict in sight.

Some people still look back to Harding and Coolidge as happy exceptions to the struggle, ignoring the fact that neither really tried to govern and that the administration of one ended in scandal while the other's paved the way for the 1929 collapse. America needs positive government, and never more than right now. No private business could be run as the government is run, with the president and the board of directors constantly at loggerheads.

If the Republicans captured the House this fall it would dramatize the defect in the Constitution, but the situation will not really be altered even if the Democrats still retain nominal control. For the past two years, and in the latter part of the Roosevelt Administration, Congress has not been controlled by an elected party; the real power has been in the hands of a shifting, nebulous coalition of conservatives from both sides, poll-tax Southerners and Northern Republicans, making mincemeat of the Executive's program and unable, by the very nature of our system, to offer an alternative program of its own.

With the report of the La Follette-Monroney Committee, the newspaper correspondents who have been watching the gulf between the executive and legislative departments for years can now point to a thought-

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ful official statement, made by congressmen themselves, to support their own anxious conclusions. The report goes only part of the way, and not all of it has been adopted. But on the structural rather than the procedural side of government it emphasizes two basic weaknesses: lack of party responsibility under the present system and the chronic antagonism between Congress and the White House. Each year, says the report, the gap widens. The Constitution directed the separation of powers, but it certainly never intended them to go "separate ways, in opposite directions."

Senator Hatch (D, N. M.), like others, is aware of the danger of divided control and has just proposed a constitutional amendment to eliminate the mid-term elections. I do not think this would work because it does not meet the real issue. Under our present system, the capture of the House by the opposition party in the mid-term election is the traditional step to ousting the dominant party two years later.

The Repudiated President

That is not the real defect in the situation. The real defect, I think, is that a President who is repudiated at the polls at an interim election has no means of getting out. The public gives a mandate, but it can't be obeyed. Under the rigid American system a mid-term defeat renders an administration impotent while keeping it in office—an ignominy to an elected official such as no other democracy offers. Taft, Wilson, Hoover were all thus crucified; will Truman be next? Under a parliamentary system, in Canada, Britain, the Scandinavian countries and so on, a defeated executive simply switches to the opposition, just as Churchill recently did, and the other party takes over. Somebody always has the election mandate.

Somehow or other a President must be given power to cut through a deadlock like this by calling an election, irrespective of calendar, with the opportunity to yield responsibility, in name as well as in fact, if he is defeated. Such a change can come only by constitutional amendment. If it is argued that you can't get such an amendment, then it must be accepted that the American government will go on running terrible risks at a time of mounting world crisis.

It is startling to discover how many authorities have already recommended the adoption of the parliamentary device. It's hard to watch Washington for a quarter-century, as I have, without feeling that something of this sort is inevitable, however difficult the constitutional amendment process may be. Is this a radical proposal? Conservative columnists like David Lawrence, Arthur Krock and others have expressed sympathy for it, the highly respectable Henry Hazlitt, editorial writer of the New York *Times*, has written a book advocating it; he calls ours "one of the most miserably inefficient forms of government that it would be possible to conceive."

Suppose Washington were organized under the parliamentary system, like Canada. Suppose you were looking down on the remodeled legislature from the House press gallery (the Senate, under the new plan, like the British House of Lords, has lost most of its power). The two parties are separated by a center aisle. The Government (the Democrats) faces the Opposition (GOP), with the national leaders of each group brought face to face in front benches.

A Parliament in Washington

There sits Prime Minister Harry Truman, flanked by his cabinet. His job is a lot easier now. He is sharing power with his whole cabinet and has lost half of his former dual role. Before, he was at once High Priest of all the people and Political Leader of one party. This job is a lot simpler. He himself is a member of Congress again. So are all the members of his cabinet: they are picked from Congress, and have run for Congress with the hope of being so picked.

Mr. Truman has a big legislative program to put through. If he suffers defeat on that program he now has an honorable alternative. He can straightway dissolve Congress, call a national election and get a popular vote on a dominant issue. (Who can tell what the issue is this fall?) The vote will either reëstablish his authority or hand it over to the Republicans, in which case he will swap sides and lead the Opposition. Either way the public will know who is responsible.

The Truman cabinet is no longer isolated from Congress; it is now a part of Congress. Its members sit in Congress and lead debate on their own subjects. Across the way sits the Republican "shadow cabinet." It is a national party, so most of its national leaders are there. There sit Tom Dewey, Herbert Hoover, Harold Stassen, Earl Warren, John Foster Dulles, John W. Bricker and others. Arthur Vandenberg, the Opposition's potential Secretary of State, faces his opposite number, James F. Byrnes. The public sees the All-Star teams in action. It is the greatest political show on earth. It revitalizes interest in politics, makes a daily forum on world issues, educates the nation.

No longer can the opposition party oppose recklessly and indiscriminately. It is disciplined and responsible because it knows it may have to take over office itself and supply a practical alternative for those policies which it has criticized. A stalemate would be solved quickly by an election.

Well, that is the parliamentary alternative to the present American system of separate powers and divided responsibility. Instead of that, here are five different places where Washington deadlocks now develop: 1. President and Congress can veto each other. 2. So can House and Senate. 3. Congress and the Bureaucracy are at swords' points. 4 New members of Congress are in silent conflict with old members, who usurp power. 5. Finally, Congress is compartmental-

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ized into semi-independent committees, each capable of gumming the works for months.

The American government is cleft right down the middle. The situation is permanent, not temporary; institutional, not personal. A weak central government was the avowed object of the founders, and their skill in design proves effective still. But times have changed. The fathers feared and hated political parties—which we have adopted. But we have retained political institutions under which such parties find it hard to operate.

And so again today we run the risk of one of those periodic, sickening deadlocks which, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, "render this great government of the United States helpless and contemptible."

On Getting Through to the Russians

by Harold J. Laski

WHAT ARE the real weaknesses in Russia's approach to her international problems? Seen through the eyes of an English visitor to Moscow, they can, I think, be quite simply listed.

There is no genuine attempt in Moscow to permit a public opinion upon the issues under discussion to be created by allowing the necessary material to be readily available in the Russian press or elsewhere.

There is too little intercourse between Russians and foreigners in Russia, outside the official and formal level, except for purely social purposes. The ordinary Russian intellectual does not feel free to visit or to be visited for the kind of discussion that is commonplace in most Western countries.

Too many Russians have, for propagandist purposes, not only been given a picture of the late war that is distorted, but know far too little of the countries with which the Politbureau itself desires good relations.

Too many barriers are erected against things like the free movement of persons and ideas to and from Russia. Its achievement is so great, its attractiveness so obvious, that the barriers do nothing but harm. Sometimes they do very great harm, as when an Anglo-Russian marriage involves months of request, intrigue, pressure, appeal, to obtain consideration for an English husband who wants to take his wife with him when he returns to England. Nor ought it to be necessary to "feel" out the probable reaction of the Russian Foreign Office before, for example, one inquires about a meeting with an old friend who has fallen out of favor with the Politbureau. Conversely, not enough Russians feel that they ought quite naturally to "drop in" upon the foreign visitor with whom they would like to discuss foreign questions or general political issues or to exchange information.

All this, I feel, is linked with certain weaknesses outside, which are apparent in the day-to-day intercourse of the Russian abroad with foreigners, not least on the official level. I think them the more regrettable because they are organized, and not spontaneous, weaknesses. The ordinary Russian is, above everything, a most friendly person, who loves talk, who is fascinated by argument and is eager to hear about other people.

Every group of Russians abroad, whether a permanent body, like an embassy of a trade delegation, or a temporary collection of people, like the delegates to a conference, keep themselves too tightly aloof from those with whom they ought to have free contact. They give the appearance of a stiff and regimented battalion, very consciously *in partibus infidelium*, absurdly on their dignity, quite unable, as a group, to take criticism, liable (though Russians have a keen sense of humor) to take an innocent joke as an offense, and ridiculously strict about the protocol of etiquette.

There have been individual cases where this was not true, and very pleasantly not true; one could talk to Litvinov or Maisky as to any other human being. But to far too many of their colleagues, one has the impression of talking to an automaton who can only speak the gramophone record that has been provided in Moscow.

I think this comes out even more obviously in international conferences. The Russians are so much on their dignity, so afraid of being overlooked, that they often give the impression of being rude, and unnecessarily suggest that they are being quite childishly arrogant. They expect to say the most bitter and far-reaching things in attack; they fiercely resent being similarly treated in turn. They lay a fantastic emphasis on punctilio, as though the minuet of diplomatic intercourse (on the model of the Treaty of Westphalia) were of its inner essence. And they seem not to realize that this does nothing but injure the personal understandings which hasten the possibility of conference agreement.

To this, I must add my own impression that the structure of all Russian delegations is far too rigidly hierarchical; and that the leaders give far too much the irritating impression of a pontifical Victorian paterfamilias lecturing a wearied and despondent family which knows the fatal consequences of answering back.

Harold J. Laski, the distinguished political scientist and Laborite, recently visited Russia as the head of a British Labor good-will mission. His delegation was received by Premier Stalin and other Soviet notables. His article is copyrighted, 1946, by the Overseas News Agency, Inc.

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It is, perhaps, a little invidious to pick out examples. But it is really unavoidable to say quite simply what I have in mind. Molotov gives me this impression every time I see him in action. So does Gromyko. So did Gusev, when he was the Russian Ambassador in London. The immobile face, the stolid stare, the monotonous and majestic succession of vast imperatives or petty minutiae, the obvious anxiety to let nothing pass which, however, harmless, might at some future date be quoted against the new-found and admitted dignity of the Soviet Union—who that has listened to international conferences since San Francisco does not know these things? Who is not irritated by the assumption that diplomacy by invective will produce better results than negotiation by reasoned discussion?

It may be that Gromyko is especially irritated by the imperturable self-sufficiency of Sir Alexander Cadogan; I do not know. I know only that to the friendliest of observers his technique seems, only too often, like that of the new member of a club who is determined that he shall not be overlooked, and so sits on two chairs at once. I know, further, that if some of Churchill's speeches must seem deliberate and massive provocation to the Russians, at least they have only his personal responsibility behind them; while some of Molotov's speeches, at least equally deliberate, and equal in their massive provocation, have behind them the great weight of the Russian government.

I cannot help comparing the ease and agility and quiet good humor with which Generalissimo Stalin argues about an important subject, with the stiff and unyielding sternness with which Molotov argues about subjects of quite minor importance. I favor the Stalin way, and not the Molotov way. I think the first makes for good will and understanding and national compromise. I think the second makes for ill will and irritation and the kind of crisis in negotiation which frays all tempers and leads to the hurried settlement just one minute before twelve which always leads to a mass, or a mess, of difficulties when the draft of the argument comes to be interpreted.

I lay emphasis on all these matters for several reasons. First, they are important; good manners are always important. Second, they make things far more difficult than they need to be for the best of Russia's friends. Third, they are unnecessary because they accomplish nothing. Fourth, they are not inherently Russian; that is clear from the quick, vivid argument of Vishinsky, or the intricate and acrobatic humor of Manuilsky. But I also suspect that they are related to something really deep in the present Russian regime. I suspect that they are only the outcome of Russian historical experience in the last 25 years; they are related, also, to a system which controls, pretty strictly, the realm in which freedom of debate, and all its consequences, is taken for granted.

Change on Champa Street

by Ralph G. Martin

NOT SO LONG AGO, whenever newspapermen gathered for a session of shop talk and somebody mentioned the Denver *Post*, the usual reaction was, "Oh, my God. . . ."

Because the *Post*, on Denver's old Champa Street, was then the kind of paper that made the Hearst press seem stuffy and subdued. Owned and operated by ex-gambler Fred Bonfils and ex-bartender Harry Tammen, its softest news note was a scream dressed up in splashy headlines and set into front-page makeup that looked like a jigsaw puzzle. It was unique. Any resemblance to any other newspaper, living or dead, was unintentional.

Since there was no editorial page, the editorials, a strong daily dose of hate stories, were written into the news. Anything even faintly liberal was dirty Red, anybody with yellow-brown-black skin was poison, and words like Democratic Party, Franklin D. Roosevelt, New Deal were part of the paper's long Sonofabitch List. With all this, the *Post* was one of the biggest money-makers in the business, taking in well over a million dollars a year, circulating more than 200,000 papers (310,000 on Sunday) to readers in 13 different states.

But when Bon and Tam died in the early thirties, the *Post* became a shell with a crazy face. Then, finally, this March, the Bon-Tam heirs brought in 48-year-old Palmer Hoyt from the Portland *Oregonian*, with a five-year contract at $52,000 a year and no strings attached. Among other things of greater importance, he put the doors back on the toilets, let the women reporters smoke, gave the back shop a raise and threw out the Sonofabitch List ("From this moment on, we're not mad at anybody").

He took the editorials out of the news, deleted racist hate, toned down the circus makeup to a mild yell, departmentalized the news, and began to keep the *Post* closer to the public pulse.

"The trouble with most of our larger papers is that they're big business and they're too apt to go along with big business instead of getting down to the grassroots and listening to the people," said Hoyt. "Why every poll in the country showed that the majority of American people wanted to keep the OPA, and yet

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most of our papers were against it. Too many papers talk about freedom of the press and too few of them live up to their responsibility to the people."

A Newspaper's Job

It's Hoyt's thesis that newspapers are responsible for the future of the world. That's why he so strongly believes in honestly trying to present all sides in a news story. The Democrats here still can't get over the fact that their news is getting into the *Post* without any snide twists. And when Hoyt sent a top reporter down to the TVA to do an unbiased series, one prominent utilities propagandist was overheard saying, almost tearfully, "Why that man has destroyed my whole program. . . . He's given the other side . . ."

On May 19, Hoyt started an editorial page. He had inherited an unsigned double column of hate called "That's That." He transferred this to the editorial page, made Bruce Gustin sign it and then cut it down to a single column. Next he announced that any signed columns didn't necessarily represent *Post* opinion. Then he brought in a host of columnists representing various shades of political color—Marquis Childs, Harold Ickes, David Lawrence, Paul Mallon, Ernest Lindley and others. He also began getting occasional contributions by such people as Harold Laski and Owen Lattimore. He started a daily guest editorial feature which gave voice to the pro and con of everything from the MVA to local corruption. The mailbag got bigger, mostly people saying thank you.

"I found this out in Portland," said Hoyt. "Newspaper honesty pays off in bucks."

Besides honesty, there was readability. The Sunday magazine section had been filled with 100-percent canned corn from the Hearst-McCormick feature services. Hoyt dumped all that in the wastebasket and started fresh with the idea of filling it full of regional stories. He printed it in rotogravure, with a full-color cover. He appointed a Rocky Mountain Empire editor to travel through the whole region, writing stories and building up a strong field staff. Where there used to be only three, there are now 45 correspondents in six states, and the list is getting longer.

He sent other reporters to investigate such things as the Ku Klux Klan, city planning in different states, Colorado's highway problem.

Another innovation in the *Post* is a new type of weekly honor roll of worthy local citizens, where you can see pictures of Negroes, Mexican Americans and Nisei. Until recently, the only times you saw such pictures was in connection with crimes.

"We practise our FEPC as well as preach it," said Hoyt, telling how pleased he was with the two Nisei he had taken on the city staff—Roy Takeno and Bill Hosakawa.

White-haired, cigar-smoking ex-publisher Shepherd, who still has a roll-top desk in the office, comes in several times a week to read the paper and peer disbelievingly at the two Nisei staff members.

"Here's how I feel about it," said thin, graying managing editor Lawrence Martin, who has been part of the *Post* for the past 22 years. "Bonfils and Tammen were unquestionably two of the most remarkable men in this country for their time, but times have changed and so has Denver. That's the reason we need a different *Post*. Anyway, this guy Hoyt and I had a lot of ideas in common, so when he came, we fell right in with each other."

That wasn't true of all the old-timers. Some went while the going was good. Others stayed, expecting to be housecleaned quickly.

But Hoyt hasn't fired anybody yet. He did bring in half a dozen aggressive Portland *Oregonian* staff members to help him change things. But those six are the last imports, he says. From now on he wants to hire local reporters who know the region and the people. Furthermore, he expects his copy boys to grow into reporters. If they don't, they'll be fired. He's really proud of the fact that some of the copy boys he hired in Portland are now top executives at the *Oregonian*.

Starting from Scratch

One of Hoyt's imports was Fred Colvig, *Oregonian* Sunday editor, now in charge of the *Post* editorial page.

"Right now we're starting from scratch," said Colvig. "We have no tradition." He laughed. "We don't even have an editorial staff, really. Almost anybody on the paper can hand in an editorial, if he wants to."

Editorially, the *Post* has come out against police brutality and intolerance, and in favor of making Yugoslavia a UN test case. But there has been no screaming against labor. This tone was set on the *Post's* first editorial page under the title, "But Not in Anger."

Some people in Denver still feel that the *Post* doesn't do enough crusading. To this Hoyt answers, "Give us time." In the local field, in addition to demanding a grand-jury investigation of the police department, the *Post* has fought for improvements in Denver's terrific traffic congestion, a real job on garbage collections and horizontal street signs instead of vertical ones.

Other criticisms: Nobody used to get bylines, now everybody does—they've been cheapened; there are still too many *Post* promotion stunts, from soapbox derbies to Indian dances; there are so many reporters that there really aren't enough chairs and typewriters.

If you talk to some of the oldtimers, they talk feelingly about the good old days when Gene Fowler, George Creel and Damon Runyon worked there. But when you quiz the new guys, they'll tell you how the whole atmosphere's changed in the city room, how it used to be chilly and dead and now it's warm and alive.

"You can quote me," said one reporter. "The *Post* is out of a rut now; it's going places."

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Letter from Saskatchewan—The CCF in Office

THE PROVINCE of Saskatchewan, Canada, with more coöperative enterprise per person than any other province or state and with the only Coöperative Commonwealth Federation government in office, leads the movement for production for use in western Canada and perhaps the people's movement on our continent.

Since June, 1944, when the population of Saskatchewan elected 47 CCF candidates out of 55 to the provincial legislature, Saskatchewan has been the first and only province to:

Pass the Farm Security Act to protect the farmer's ownership of his home quarter-section (160 acres).

Relieve farmers from mortgage debts when they suffer crop failure.

Provide free diagnosis and treatment of cancer.

Provide free dental, medical, surgical and hospital care for all recipients of old-age pensions, mothers' allowances and identical services for the mentally ill.

Establish an air-ambulance service to pick up emergency cases and transport them to medical centers.

Set up a department of coöperative development.

Enter into collective-bargaining agreements with its employees, assuring them full union security, and extend workmen's compensation to 75 percent of wages.

Guarantee every citizen compensation for financial loss resulting from injury or death in an automobile accident.

Extend the municipal franchise to all adults regardless of property ownership.

This liberal-socialist legislature is composed mainly of farmers. Its premier is a former Baptist minister, former lightweight boxing champion of Manitoba, T. C. (Tommy) Douglas. Preferring the goldfish bowl to the iron curtain, he has encouraged visiting journalists to write socialism-is-here-on-this-continent pieces for slick magazines such as *Collier's*. They may go where they wish, and this includes the once Texas-owned Matador Ranch near Swift Current, now a government-initiated veterans' coöperative farm; the socialized woolen mills at Moose Jaw; the government boot and shoe factory in Regina; and the socialized horse-meat packing plant.

The sparkplug of socialized industry is Resources Minister Joe Phelps, for years a farmer and a pioneer in farmers' political-action movements. He works long hours as a cabinet minister, keeping tabs on the scattered socialized industries by plane.

The guiding hand of veterans' coöperative farms and veterans' housing in the towns is J. H. (Jack) Sturdy, Minister of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation. He is a World War I veteran who was a school principal, secretary of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation and second in command of the Canadian Legion Education Services in the United Kingdom during World War II.

Montana-born I. C. (Toby) Nollet, Minister of Agriculture, the most radical cabinet member, farmed and ranched near Freemont, Saskatchewan, before his election. He sees coöperative enterprise, organized labor and political action as the three essentials of a people's movement that must take root to establish production for use throughout North America. Nollet says our continent has to have the economic and social democracy of Soviet Russia while Russia must learn political democracy. Complete world democracy is the only defense he sees against the atom bomb.

Despite considerable viewing-with-alarm on the part of much of the Canadian press, most of the cabinet is reform-liberal in outlook rather than fundamentally socialist. Back in the grass-roots of the movement the leading farmers—in both the agricultural and political sense—will tell you the land must be socialized. They have thought it through and they mean it. But they are no more than 10 percent of CCF rural voting strength, so mention of land socialization is taboo in government circles.

North America's first liberal-socialist government is probably the most honest and conscientious one to take office so far. Party members and rank-and-file supporters dig the campaign funds out of their own pockets and cabinet ministers accept no kickbacks from free enterprise.

THE CCF HAS MASS SUPPORT

The Saskatchewan administration is largely pragmatic, with little of the Marxist planning attributed to it by disgruntled Liberal Party politicians in Saskatchewan and disturbed industrialists in Toronto and Montreal. The tycoons' city-bred public-relations people think of it as the "Saskatchewan enigma," since they see rural comics in the Toronto *Star Weekly* and some of them have read Grayson's *Adventures in Contentment*. They cannot understand why farmers should go socialist along the lines of the British Labor Party when such movements in Europe are invariably urban and lack farmer support.

Drought and low prices for wheat in relation to the cost of farm machinery are factors. But what the men in the city do not realize is that the prairie farmer is essentially a mechanic, as a result of technological advances which have swept the prairies in one generation. With today's power combine, one man farms a section (640 acres) of grain land, and the farmer must be completely at ease with pliers and blow torch.

In other Canadian provinces the Liberal Party has absorbed the recurring waves of progressivism. In 1921 the largely agrarian Progressive movement sent 65 members of Parliament to Ottawa, where most of them became the left wing of the Liberal Party and government. Manitoba's Progressive leader, Tom Crerar, became a Liberal cabinet minister and is now a Liberal senator. In Saskatchewan, Progressives went further Left and launched the Saskatchewan Farmer-Labor Party in 1930 which led to the formation of the CCF in 1932. Saskatchewan reversed Prime Minister Mackenzie King's absorption process by absorbing its own left-wing Liberals.

Landis, Saskatchewan JIM WRIGHT

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Science and Technology

Brazil Builds a City

A NEW CITY now under construction in Brazil has unusual significance. It will be a town of 25,000 population, Cidade dos Motores, situated 25 miles from the capital. This town is the first, so far as is known, and certainly the first outside Soviet Russia, to be completely planned in accordance with modern scientific sociological and industrial principles. Development of the entire surrounding region was started in 1941 by the Brazilian government's acquisition of a 12,000-acre tract of reclaimed swamp lands under the direction of Brigadier General Antonio Guedes Muniz, pioneer and chief of the whole enterprise. An airplane factory utilizing the most advanced production-line methods, special equipment and machinery is now in operation. A tractor factory is soon to be added.

The regional and city plan for Cidade dos Motores has been designed by Paul Lester Wiener and Jose Luis Sert, two well known experts in modern urban planning. The master plan will serve as a model for Brazil and will attempt to effect harmony between advanced living and welfare standards and industrial efficiency. Cidade dos Motores differs basically from garden cities or suburban communities. Its plan is a predetermined pattern for organic growth and charts the city's course over a period of ten or more years, always following the regional program for development of agriculture and industry.

The new town is divided into four neighborhood units of about 6,200 persons each and a civic center serving the whole city. The nuclei of each neighborhood are the education and recreational areas, consisting of kindergartens, schools, dispensaries, milk-pasteurization plants, play areas and swimming pools. On the periphery of these community nuclei are other services such as laundries, repair shops, shopping centers and bicycle parking spaces. Housing will consist of eight-story and three-story apartment buildings grouped around tropical gardens, built of standardized and mass-produced building parts and materials.

The civic center for the whole city is classified by functions. The administration, amusement and commercial section is built around the town square and along the promenade. It contains a large shopping center, an eight-story hotel, a large motion-picture theatre, a central restaurant and cafés. The cultural section consists of a technical school, exhibition hall and workshop. Beyond it is the sports section, with a stadium and auxiliary structures large enough to serve people from surrounding regions as well.

The density is about one hundred persons to the acre, determined by considerations of climate, maintenance costs and short walking distances. Wiener and Sert are reversing the general trend by recapturing the community from the scale of the motorist and modeling it to the pedestrian. The road layout is simple; peripheral roads allow for automobile access and parking to all neighborhoods; but within the units all traffic is on foot or by bicycle path.

This regional and city plan is an example of mobilization of natural resources resulting in industrialization and scientific agriculture. Many undeveloped countries will in the future undoubtedly have to solve their economic problems in similar fashion, and this fact will make especially interesting the growth of this progressive enterprise.

UN Observer

CAN "MONOPOLY CAPITALISM" and "Soviet socialism" learn to work together and get along together in one world? Can East and West meet at least to do business with each other? Week before last, Henry Wallace said he thought they could. Last week Joseph Stalin said *he* thought they could. Their answers sounded pretty convincing until you dropped in on the United Nations Economic and Social Council session out at Lake Success and watched East and West in the actual process of meeting and trying to do business together.

The two previous sessions of the Council had been mainly devoted to organizational problems, and the progress it made with them gave a lot of people the encouraging feeling that this organ of the United Nations was really going to do a job. But this session it has had to get down to hard cases, to practical plans for solving practical problems like the care and rehabilitation of a million refugees in Europe and heaven knows how many more in Asia; the economic reconstruction of war-devastated countries; the restoration of freedom of commerce and movement of shipping on the Danube.

It is sad to have to report that even on such apparently non-political practical problems as these, as of October, 1946, the debates and arguments have revealed that when it comes down to brass tacks the gulf in the economic, social and humanitarian fields is as wide as it is in the political. Messrs. Feonov, Winant and Noel-Baker seem to find it no easier to agree in the ESC than do their colleagues in the Security Council or in Paris.

Having voted the Ukrainian charges brought by Manuilsky against Greece and Britain out of court by 9 to 2, the Security Council last week closed up on Gromyko with a sharp 7-to-2 refusal to admit to its agenda the Soviet request that the Council call for information on troops stationed abroad in other than ex-enemy territories. Though according to the rule-book the discussion should have been confined strictly to the procedural question of whether or not the request should go on the agenda, Gromyko took the opportunity to accuse Britain and the United States of endangering the peace by maintaining troops in China, Greece, Egypt, Irak, Iceland, Indonesia, Panama and Brazil. Gromyko made it very clear in his statements that the information was being sought by the USSR in order that it might later form the basis for wholesale charges against the United States and Britain under Article 34 of the Charter for threatening international peace and security.

It all sounded rather odd to some delegates. While Gromyko was speaking, they were reading in their afternoon newspapers the reports of Stalin's answer to the questions put by Alexander Werth of the London Sunday *Times* to the effect that the Soviet Premier could see "no real danger" of another war in the near future. Soviet voices in Moscow and New York did not seem to be quite in tune.

Lake Success EDWARD MONTGOMERY

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The Bandwagon

Dr. C. L. Hsia, the Chinese representative, today defended the continuance of American troops in China, declaring that they had at no time interfered in China's internal affairs. He explained statements by Mme. Sun Yat-sen and other Chinese who had criticized the presence of American forces there, on the ground that "in a free country there are people who are always protesting against something." – *Thomas J. Hamilton in the New York* Times.

North Side—Permanent single person, east exposure with private entrance. – *Advertisement in the San Antonio* Evening News.

GOPanacea

Jobless war veterans should be sent back into the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and the Coast Guard and disabled veterans should be put to work at home or in factories to do work for which they may be fitted, Alfred C. Lane of Cambridge, professor-emeritus of Tufts College . . . told the resolutions committee of the Republican State Convention yesterday at the Parker House. – *From the Boston* Post.

God Rest Ye, Ferocious Gentlemen

A minute of prayer each day this week for the success of the Dodgers is the plea of the Rev. Benney J. C. Benson, pastor of Greenpoint Reformed Church and chaplain of Kings County American Legion posts. "We prayed for military victories, so why not for the Dodgers?" he asks. – *From a sports column in* PM.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Europe and Germany

SIR: The intentions of Secretary Byrnes are unimpeachable, but he does not carry them far enough. If it is a flagrant economic heresy to divide Germany into four zones, it is a worse heresy to divide Europe into twenty zones, most of them smaller than the German units. If it is true that Europe would be the loser if Germany were pauperized, it proves that we should think in terms of Europe as a whole, and not exclusively of Germany. If we believe that harsh treatment breeds hatred, if we are looking forward to rehabilitation, then let us redeem Roosevelt's pledge and make the Germans self-respecting members of "the European family."

A European tariff union, no barrier between the coal of the Saar and Ruhr and the iron of Lorraine, federal European control of international waterways, federal status (as free cities) for all ports with an international hinterland: this program would heal Europe and safeguard peace.

But if this program, which is favored (hesitantly) by President Truman, is condemned as Utopian; if we seek to preserve the jealous nationalisms which have torn Europe; then let us chop Germany as fine as we can and impoverish her to the point of utter destitution. A pauperized Germany would be less of a burden to Europe and the world than a militant Germany.

A united Germany within a disunited Europe will be a constant peril. Secretary Byrnes tries to be fair to the Germans, but the terms he has endorsed are inacceptable to any German patriot. They make a war of revenge inevitable. Austria is at least as German as Brandenburg.

The first step toward sanity is to repudiate the Potsdam agreement, the masterpiece of secret diplomacy and power politics, in flat contradiction with the UN Charter.

Stanford University, Calif. ALBERT GUÉRARD

If the South Had Won

SIR: What if the picture at Appomattox had been reversed—what if Grant had been forced to surrender to Lee, with all that implies?

Fantastic? Sure. But hasn't the South been fantastic, and its relations with the North equally so, ever since '65—and hasn't the situation worsened (after the first surge of carpetbagism) instead of improved?

Just for the sake of discussion, let's suppose the South *had* won the Civil War.

Would it have remained a separate political entity? Would it have treated the North as "conquered provinces," and absorbed it physically? Or would what is now the United States have been Balkanized, with the nation splitting up into separate states?

Would the thinking and leadership of the South have been dominated by the Woodrow Wilsons, the William Gibbs McAdoos, the Josephus Danielses, the Ellis Arnalls, the Claude Peppers, *et al.*; or would the Huey Longs, the Gene Talmadges, the John Rankins, the Pappy O'Danielses, the Martin Dieses, the Gene Coxes, the Howard Smiths, the Harry Byrds have prevailed?

Would Southern imperialism have continued its drive against our Latin neighbors and have absorbed Mexico completely? What would have been the South's attitude in World War I? (Neutrality, I venture.) In World War II? (Participation with the Axis, is my guess.) Would the South still be Economic Problem No. 1, not of the United States, but of the Western Hemisphere?

Yes, the whole idea is fantastic. But it isn't entirely academic. The South's present political, economic and moral cleavage from the North is a reality—much more than most of us on both sides of the Mason and Dixon Line realize, or will admit.

Washington, D. C. HAROLD DUANE JACOBS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

We should like to correct an error in our Mailbag column of September 9 in which we said that evening-session teachers in New York City were often paid no more than 25 cents an hour. The author of the letter, which we misread, writes that "many teachers in the evening sessions of the city colleges make as little as $2.50 an hour," and Bernard Levy, assistant director of Adult Education at City College, says that there is an "average salary of $5 an hour to . . . teachers in adult education."

We have received a letter announcing the formation of the American Veterans of the Philippine Campaign, 11 West Forty-second Street, New York 17. The group "condemns the suppression of the Hukbalahaps . . . , the continued presence of US military forces in the Philippines, the recent enslaving legislation passed by Congress and the Roxas government now in power."

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Books in Review

Elliott Roosevelt and History

THE EVALUATION of historical testimony is a very difficult matter. Human memory is fallible; men's wishes and affections tend to make their evocation of the past an extraordinarily selective thing. And the difficulty of judging the result with which we are usually presented is often so great as to make us understand why Pilate would not stay for an answer. It is still more difficult if we have no records to test the picture painted from the records out of which it has emerged. Perhaps what complicates it most is when the motives of the man who gives us the testimony are themselves so intricate that he is himself only partly aware of them, and obviously wholly unaware of the proportionate emphasis each has contributed to the result.

In *As He Saw It*,[1] Elliott Roosevelt has given us an account of the international conferences he attended, as aide to his eminent father, from the meeting off Newfoundland at which the Atlantic Charter was drafted, to the Teheran meeting which preceded the final conference at Yalta. Part of his account, he tells us, is taken from the "log" of the conferences; for some, he has relied upon his notes; the rest is the outcome of recollection, though his notes have been more important than his memory. He has written them down, in part because he is keenly aware of the great historical significance which attaches to the events themselves; he is aware of his good fortune in seeing, at first hand, the composition of the immense drama in which, but for the accident of birth, he would have been unlikely to have had a share. He is anxious also that Americans—and perhaps not Americans only—should know very directly what purposes his father had in view in those hectic days and nights when such great decisions were being taken. He was, also, obviously concerned that the contrast between the new world, which President Roosevelt symbolized, and the old, incarnate in Winston Churchill, should not go unnoticed by a discerning public. Not least, as he has watched the increasing tensity of the international atmosphere, Elliott Roosevelt has felt it a high civic duty to warn the United States that lesser men are jeopardizing the great ideals for which the President never ceased to contend.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Where Wars Start

I THINK it possible that Elliott Roosevelt may not be fully aware either that he has written a pretty controversial book or that the clearest portrait that emerges from its reading is a portrait of Elliott Roosevelt. His main source, he tells us, is his notes. But we are not told when he made those notes; we are given no sample to enable us to judge the relation it bears to the present text; and the degree to which unrecorded memory has dramatized the record he kept at the time remains indeterminate in these pages. It is curious, too, to note how different is the presidential talk with his son from any other published account of that talk, or, still more, from talk in those famous press conferences when the President was so quick and brief and vital. When alone with his son, he seems usually to have scanned, with almost ponderous concern, the long vistas of past and future history. He was unhappy at the sins of old-world imperialism. He saw through Mr. Churchill's insistent attempts to make American power no more than the unconscious instrument of that imperialism in its British form. He knew exactly what should be done about India, British and Dutch, and the colonies, and the future relations between the Chinese Communists and Chiang Kai-shek, or between France and her empire. When Elliott Roosevelt was there, the President could so sway by his magic the dreams of the Moroccan Sultan that, had the occasion made it possible, the Sultan would have written down the names of the American universities his subjects were to attend that they might assist their prince in the modernization of his kingdom; though, alas, not even his presence enabled the President to persuade Ibn Saud to coöperation on so comparatively minor a problem as the future of Palestine. These grave reflections could be swiftly interposed between cocktails, or while breakfasting or preparing for bed, or at the end of a long day's conference when such rumination in his son's presence no doubt enabled the President to clarify his own mind.

What becomes a little puzzling to the reader is the impact of all these thoughts on Elliott Roosevelt himself. Apart from one dinner party he is described as dominating during the conference which produced the Atlantic Charter, Mr. Churchill emerges as surly, obstinate, ill tempered, capable of bearing malice even against minor American

[1] As He Saw It, by Elliott Roosevelt. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 270 pages. $3.

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officials—as in his failure to invite Elliott Roosevelt a second time to Chequers after some petty irritation—and concerned with no real objectives in the war save preserving the British Empire and preventing any growth in the power of the Communist colossus. One is tempted almost to suggest that though Elliott Roosevelt writes the name of Mr. Churchill, it is really a portrait of Marshal Goering he has unconsciously drawn. At any rate, there is nothing here of the Churchill who, from the Battle of Britain onwards at least to the great victory of the Russians at Stalingrad, was able by his speeches to keep alive in every heart where it still burned the flame of freedom. I do not think that Generalissimo Stalin would diminish by one iota the significance of Mr. Churchill's speech of June 22, 1941.

It is not necessary to belong to Mr. Churchill's school of political thought to doubt whether he was the conscious trickster Elliott Roosevelt makes him out to be in his account of his father's meeting with General de Gaulle. Of course Mr. Churchill is Tory and imperialist; since 1922, at least, he has never pretended to be anything else. But how helpful it would have been if Elliott Roosevelt, instead of being the only recipient of his father's confidences on the obsolescence of imperialism, had persuaded the President to give the Prime Minister the chance of sharing them. How different things might have turned out if, instead of noting internally how many more officials Mr. Churchill brought to one of these conferences than President Roosevelt did, Elliott Roosevelt had warned his father of the advantage Great Britain thus obtained. Or perhaps, in the excitement of this great occasion, the advantage seemed less obvious than it has become in the perspective of memory.

It is not always easy to have implicit confidence in the reporting of an observer who is capable of judgments so strange as those of Elliott Roosevelt. His estimate of Admiral Leahy as a diplomatic adviser is a good deal higher than most people would make. His insistence upon Mr. Churchill's "estrangement" from General Marshall will be accepted by no one aware of the unceasing respect Mr. Churchill has always expressed both in the ability and the integrity of a man whom he learned to regard as among the three or four outstanding figures in the Allied armies. His judgment of Mr. Churchill himself would not be shared by any of his colleagues in the British Labor Party; nor, I submit, is it the judgment that will emerge when the papers of the President, of Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Winant and Mr. Harriman, are examined by the historians of the future. I do not doubt that President Roosevelt was the greatest occupant of the White House since Abraham Lincoln. But I think he was, like Lincoln, a subtle and complex figure in his greatness; for that reason I doubt whether the portrait of him painted here is wholly adequate. For it resembles, I suspect, pretty closely what Elliott Roosevelt is going to be like in about twenty-five years.

"Accounts of the same facts are surprisingly varied," Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt has remarked in the preface she has rather curiously contributed to this book. Sometimes the accounts are written from so strange an angle that it is the peripheral detail, rather than the inner essence, which persuades us that they are indeed the same facts. I am, of course, convinced that Elliott Roosevelt was present at all the conferences he here describes. I am sure that the President, with his well known family devotion, enjoyed having his son along, and found real relaxation in the easy intimacy of talk where he did not have to measure his every word. But Elliott Roosevelt might have learned a good deal more from this great experience than he seems to have done had he weighed with the seriousness it deserves the account he gives of his meeting with Randolph Churchill at one of these conferences; on the famous principle of St. Augustine, the account seems precise and authentic. I wonder whether it has ever occurred to Elliott Roosevelt to note that Mr. Churchill mostly chose one of his daughters to accompany him to international conferences. If that was not a significant matter, it is at least significant that no recollections have resulted from their journeys.

HAROLD J. LASKI

Some of My Best Friends

Color Blind, by Margaret Halsey. New York: Simon and Schuster. 163 pages. $2.50.

There is a voluminous literature on race and race relations. Once, on a WPA project, we tried to make an extensive bibliography and by the time the funds ran out there were more than 100,000 entries. But this body of literature, although it contains a minute description of almost every aspect of the problem, is, for the most part, dull and unrewarding to the ordinary reader. Perhaps because of the detailed nature as well as the deadening style of most of these books, any fresh approach or new interpretation of material is hailed with great enthusiasm—witness, for example, the extraordinary success of Roi Ottley's journalistic report, *New World A-Coming*, or Gunnar Myrdal's scholarly study, *The American Dilemma*. In the same manner, *Color Blind*, a slim volume by Margaret Halsey, should receive a commanding, even though perhaps temporary, place in the field.

Miss Halsey's book—subtitled "A White Woman Looks at the Negro"—is a report of her experiences as captain of hostesses in a servicemen's canteen which practised a nondiscriminatory policy. This meant that there were both Negro and white hostesses and both Negro and white hostesses danced, talked and entertained Negro and white servicemen. To an uninitiated visitor from a different culture it should be explained that this constitutes what in both the South and in the North is generally called social equality. That the policy worked well is a challenging fact. The calm wisdom with which Miss Halsey instructed her hostesses and dealt with the bewilderment of some Negro servicemen and the indignation of many white servicemen makes an interesting and arresting book.

To those who have spent some time analyzing and evaluating not only behavior in race relations but the various approaches which interracial groups employ in attempts to alleviate the problem, the book is challenging because of its approach. There is nothing particularly new about most of the material Miss Halsey presents or the conclusions she arrives at. What is new is the method of presentation and the courage, good sense and humor of

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the writer. For example, she deals directly and forthrightly with the problems of sexual jealousy and the possibility of intermarriage, but she does so in a manner which neither infuriates nor terrifies the timid reader.

Miss Halsey brings two important tools to her discussion of the problem of race. It is that fortunate combination which has made it possible for her to produce in such a small book the terrific impact which *Color Blind* carries. First, there is the fact that she is what is known, in the trade at least, as a humorist. That a humorist could deal with our tragic problem of race successfully and constructively may come to some as a shock. But Miss Halsey explains that "humorists are not humorous twenty-four hours a day In fact, when you get to know them well, they're not humorous at all. They tend to be hypersensitive, taut, neurotic creatures driven by God knows what compulsion to earn their living the hard way." It should not be surprising that some of our better humorists should be able to deal with this much mooted and emotionally charged question. Anyone who has read some of the recent writings of such men as S. J. Perelman, Frank Sullivan, James Thurber or A. J. Liebling should realize that they are among the shrewdest observers of contemporary society and individual behavior. Unhampered by the frame of reference, the constellation of concepts and the rigid methodological procedure of psychoanalysis, sociology or cultural anthropology, these writers have been able to report on contemporary society and give a descriptive though not analytical picture which challenges the work of our less articulate social scientists.

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But Miss Halsey has the further tool of some understanding of Freud and the concepts of psychoanalysis. It is curious that the analysts, who have analyzed everything from the character of Hamlet to the psychosomatic nature of asthma, should just be getting around to the field of race relations But it is nevertheless true, and in that whole voluminous literature there are only a handful of articles on this question that show serious study or scholarship. However, the beginnings which have been made show how fruitful this approach can be in the analysis of our racial tensions. We do not know how Miss Halsey gained her insight into unconscious fear and guilt among Negroes and whites, but certainly she has this knowledge and is not afraid to apply it. Without explicitly laboring the point, throughout the book its author realizes that in addition to the natural democratic impulses which black and white Americans have, there is a substructure of fear and hate of the white man on the part of the Negro and of guilt, hate and fear toward the Negro by the white.

MOST AMERICANS, including our conventional academic scholars, do not want to face this reality. On this point Miss Halsey quotes Lillian Smith, who says, "The Negro race is a sane, stable race of people who have under trying conditions proved themselves strong and creative and wise; but they are at present suffering under as severe psychic strain as a people ever had to endure on the face of the earth. Their nerves give way, as do ours; their frustrations reach the place where self-control is not always the master. They get to the point where they just can't take any more." Here Miss Halsey attempts to deal with what Richard Wright has called the dark inner landscape of emotional turmoil which characterizes the mentality of the American Negro and which his creative artists, led by Wright, have just had the courage to begin to describe. Concerning the white man's anxiety-laden behavior, Miss Halsey comments on the manner in which she handled frightened white people This tactful handling "meant a sympathetic understanding of the blind panic behind the Southerner's raging and intemperate language."

On the highly charged question of interracial sex relations Miss Halsey realizes that neurotic individuals who are afraid of their own sexuality are ofttimes the ones who most fear sexual atrocities from Negroes. The Negro, by virtue of not really being known, is a common enough sexual symbol for those by whom sex, too, is not understood and therefore something to be feared. This simple but important truth is elaborated in the book—in Miss Halsey's instructions to her junior hostesses and in a popularized statement of Freudian psychology in the chapters "Sex Jealousies and the Negro" and "Would You Like Your Daughter to Marry One?"

The author is able to communicate these frightening ideas without terrifying the ordinary middle-class white American reader. She is able to do it because of her wit and humor, which are disarming and reassuring. Humor has always been a most devastating method of refuting an argument even when the scientific facts are not on the side of the person who employs it. The effect is tremendous when this type of attack is buttressed by scientific findings. Further, the lucid, readable prose, which employs neither the technical jargon of the analyst nor the

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clichés of the scientist, makes the reading of these dangerous truths pleasant and even enjoyable.

As we have said, the value of the book is not so much the description of a successful interracial project as it is the devising of a medium of communication for the great middle-class reading public However, the reporting of the servicemen's canteen is not without importance to those who attempt to work in an interracial situation. She substantiates the fact that where a firm stand is taken on policy by those in charge of an institution, the democratic principle can be made to operate whether it's a factory, a university, a hospital or a canteen. Corollary to this, she has shown that quite often it is the fears of the superiors rather than the behavior of the lower members of the staff and the public which bring panic and evoke discriminatory policies in most institutions.

SOME CRITICISMS should be made of *Color Blind*. In the first place, Miss Halsey generalizes too much on the importance of the canteen experience. While granting that whites can be brought to accept Negroes in many interracial situations, it is doubtful that even with the firmest direction a situation with such intimate contacts between Negro men and white women would at present receive public approval, support or even tolerance except under extraordinary circumstances. War is a great leveler, and if in this country it could not level the white man down to the Negro or raise the Negro to the status of the white man, it did provide a milieu in which such an experiment as this canteen was possible.

Then there is the oversimplification of her argument that the basis of all race prejudice is the desire to obtain cheap labor. This may be very good as a propaganda device, as she uses it in her letter of instructions to her junior hostesses, but scientific accuracy would require her to make it clear that the reason an individual doesn't want to dance with a Negro is quite different from the causes of Jim Crow. One is a problem in social psychology; the other has a historically ascertainable explanation in political economy.

At the end of the book Miss Halsey presents her suggestions for action by people who are interested in improving race relations. In general she suggests that they concentrate their efforts in the field that best fits their personal orientation. This is a point that Lillian Smith has made very effectively in "A Pamphlet for Southerners." The people in New York, Detroit and Chicago who are worried about lynchings in Monroe, Georgia, and wring their hands impotently because "there is nothing to do about it" (although there is) could very well work on such projects as the abolishing of racial restrictive covenants which hem Negroes into sprawling black ghettos in all of these cities. This is sound advice from Miss Halsey.

In her list of suggested activities for interested liberals there is one glaring omission, and that is a discussion of the labor problem. In this it seems to us that she has failed to point out that many organizations which are not primarily racial have a great bearing on the race question. The support of progressive labor groups may in the long run be more effective than many of the activities she suggests which concern themselves solely with alleviating the problems of race.

ST. CLAIR DRAKE and HORACE R. CAYTON

THERE REALLY WAS AN UNCLE TOM—

HIS NAME was Josiah Henson and his life was far more varied and dramatic than anything Mrs. Stowe imagined. The real Uncle Tom wasn't killed. He escaped to Canada where he became something of a celebrity. He traveled widely, lectured, preached, and consorted with presidents and kings. He was at once the best friend and worst enemy of his people for, though he set the stage for revolution he also set the style for servility. To white folks Uncle Tom was a quaint old martyr, but to most Negroes he was a sententious, shuffling symbol of "good niggerism." And this is his fascinating life story; a book that taps the roots of America's Negro-white problem.

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The Illusion of Valor

The Fall of Valor, by Charles Jackson. New York: Rinehart and Company. 310 pages. $2.75.

A NEW BOOK by the author of *The Lost Weekend* is a literary event. That novel had a profound appeal for an extraordinary variety of people. It was absorbing as a story, gripping as a melodrama, praised for its style by the critics and really informative for psychologists.

Although *The Lost Weekend* appeared on the literary horizon with the brightness and suddenness of a comet, some readers knew the author from two, to my mind, almost perfect short stories, "Palm Sunday" and "Rachel's Summer." It is these two stories that come to mind in connection with the new novel, *The Fall of Valor*. One is a story of homosexuality, the other the tragedy of a young girl whose mother suspects her of a sexual transgression.

It is a moot question—and *The Fall of Valor* raises it with particular insistence—whether a work of art should be judged entirely by itself or in relation to its author's whole literary development. Walter Pater advised his students to read all authors whole. Those who enjoy a novel as the author would want them to will not agree with that. One of the drawbacks, perhaps also one of the charms, of modern literary criticism is that the formal critic, the literary historian, the biographer and the social scientist have assumed interchanging roles. At the peaks of literature, there is and always has been a unity of esthetics, ethics, history and science. And the critics who think of themselves as leaders, in reality follow a considerable distance behind.

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In recent times it has become fashionable to draw too facile conclusions from heroes about authors. Modern psychiatrists have often drawn upon formulations in literature. And the science of psychopathology in its more abtruse phases has frequently been used to explain Kafka by Kafka's stories and Kafka's stories by Kafka. It is not art but science that suffers from such uncritical attempts of the critics. Today the vulnerable point of science, and at the same time its growing end, is its relation to society. The atom bomb is not "Prometheus Unbound" but "Prometheus Bound." As art for art's sake loses ground, it becomes more and more clear that literature can be a link between science and society.

The Fall of Valor is an intensely personal book. By that I mean a book of personalities. And its final evaluation as a work of art will depend on the extent to which these personalities have come to life. The hero, John Grandin, is a respectable professor of English at a New York university. He is married and has two young sons. To all intents and purposes he is as normal as the standards in peace and war demand. His wife, Ethel, devoted to him and their two children, is as harshly depicted as any woman in literature. Marriage and her professorial husband have driven her into a corner. She is always on the defensive against the unyielding offensive of the everyday life of her marriage. Once in a quarrel she uses language that, translated into British, made Mrs. Patrick Campbell a sensation in "Pygmalion."

In its barest outline the plot is a triangle; but the "other woman" is a man. The main action takes place during a vacation on Nantucket. Here, in a summer atmosphere of clippers and coupon-clippers, John Grandin meets a captain of Marines who is on his honeymoon. The relationship between the two men, Platonic on the part of the one and Freudian on the part of the other, ends with a brass-handled poker coming down on Grandin's head.

A good work of literature and a neurosis have this in common: each has a secret concealed within itself. The three deepest secrets that recur so often in literature are murder, incest and homosexuality. The treatment of homosexuality in literature would be in itself the material for a social study. Zola in 1895 refused to write a homosexual novel when a young man in Italy offered him his life confessions. Richard Wagner and Jules Laforgue, in their "Lohengrins," dealt with the subject in complete disguise; Mann, in "Death in Venice," in hedonistic symbolism; Proust wrote about a setting of decadence; Hemingway told a story of frustration; Farrell described a scene of sordidness. The story of homosexuality without tears has never been written. It is of course a daring literary theme. But I do not agree with those who may feel tempted to say that the better part of the fall of valor would have been discretion. On the contrary, I think it could stand more courage.

It is Ethel Grandin who, at the end of the book, gives a human answer to the question when she connects her husband's susceptibility to the Marine captain with "that sensitiveness of his which, unaware, she had loved him for from the beginning." That sounds at once more human and more scientific than the strictures of many judges and psychiatrists whom I have heard and read. There is a healthier and fresher breeze in Nantucket than in Venice.

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To me the best developed theme in the book is the marriage. Shakespeare said, "In a false quarrel there is no true valor." The quarrel in John Grandin's life is his marriage. Both he and his wife feel guilty, and the guiltier they feel the more each blames the other. Such marriages are common and typical and it is here that I see a social implication in this novel. The minor disorders from which soldiers and veterans suffer are nowadays called Combat Fatigue. In analogy to that, one might coin the term Marriage Fatigue. It is a common disorder of our time. Of course such marriages can often be mended, but sometimes the fatigue progresses so far that what is left is only communication without communion.

John Grandin's uncertainty in the sexual sphere is only a part of a larger social uncertainty. From that point of view *The Fall of Valor* might be seen as a monument to the middle-class man who can't make up his mind. Although this may not be apparent at first reading, the delineation of Ethel belongs to the same pattern. It is not accidental that she is more of a type than an individual. Her physical appearance is never described. Her quarrel is not with a man but with an institution. She is a victim, as are so many women: mothers in ideal, housekeepers in fact. Men place on women the whole load of domesticity and then blame them for taking the load seriously. They create the illusion that women like it and like nothing else. Men like to believe that marriage starts at dinner: it really begins at breakfast.

The Fall of Valor is a novel in the great tradition of realism. It adds a pigment to the picture of truth in the field of human relationships. That is the paradox of art: fiction, a story, may be the best instrument for telling the truth about certain things. It is not accidental that *novel* and *novelty* have the same root. Yet *The Fall of Valor* does not tell a new story. The truth has to be told again and again, for the truth about human relationships always changes. It is the illusions that last so long.

FREDERIC WERTHAM

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No Nonsense

The Natural History of Nonsense, by Bergen Evans. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 275 pages. $3.

THERE IS probably nothing so upsetting to the average individual as the destruction of his illusions, his superstitions and his prejudices. Somewhere toward the end of his book Bergen Evans says that prejudice is not open to conviction; as that rare and witty old gentleman Anatole France maintained, man lives by his prejudices rather than by justice.

This volume is likely to amuse and instruct as well as disturb. Citing chapter and verse, Evans successfully destroys many of the shibboleths that have become so dear to humanity. In accomplishing his task he manages never to become ponderous about his anatomizing of credulities engendered by man's will to subscribe to the incongruous, because he finds that life devoid of the miraculous is intolerably dull. He punctures, deflates and ridicules with a zest and wit that make his book wholly delightful. It is debunking on a scale that has never before been attained in such a relatively slender volume and calls to mind Walter B. Pitkin's excellent but little known *A Short Introduction to the History of Human Stupidity* (now out of print and practically unobtainable). It has been said somewhere, I think, that nothing can give one a better idea of eternity than human stupidity.

To get the flavor of the author's approach and style and the pungency of his thesis, let me give three illustrations:

Termites alone would furnish matter for a score of editorials. Their workers are nearly blind, and hence can't strike (score one for capital); but the warriors can't feed themselves and hence are wholly at the mercy of the workers (score one for labor); and the queen is reduced—or rather, enlarged—to a vast reproductive organ (behind which cowers the timorous king), squeezing out sixty eggs a minute, year on end, and devoured by her subjects the moment she falls behind schedule (score one for management).

Next from a chapter, "Nothing to Crow About," on the subject of the Negro:

Most white Americans, of course, have decided, clearly and definitely. The male Negro of popular fancy is large, libidinous and lazy. His thick lips, long arms and kinky hair plainly mark him as more "apelike" than the whites. He is obsessed with a desire to rape a white woman and richly endowed with parts and passions needed. In the intervals of raping he shoots craps to the accompaniment of shrill, stereotyped cries.

And lastly from a chapter entitled "The Inside Story":

Hair is a great breeder of error, for some reason. Hair on the chest is thought to indicate unusual strength—probably on

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STATE OF NEW YORK } SS.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Daniel Mebane, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The New Republic and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

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DANIEL MEBANE,
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1946.

MARIAN T. KEENAN, Notary Public.
My commission expires March 30, 1947.

the assumption that a man with hair on his chest is more like a gorilla—though actually the gorilla has no hair on his chest. He has hair on his back, his shoulders, his arms, his belly and his legs, but none on his chest.

Evans lays the ghost of the particularly irritating belief that "you can't change human nature":

Time and circumstances have repeatedly effected changes in group values and responses to the extent that can hardly be described as anything but changes in human nature. What could be more fundamental in human nature than love, greed and pugnacity? Yet whole civilizations have existed without romantic love, without the desire to own more than personal belongings, and without the desire to attack their neighbors.

In summing up, he stresses the fact that no error is harmless and that obscurantism and terror go together as naturally as skepticism and democracy. It is particularly gratifying to find oneself in complete agreement when he says that it was not surprising to find the author of *Man the Unknown* collaborating with the Nazis and that "the mist of mysticism has always provided good cover for those who do not want their actions too closely looked into."

The most frequently cited authors in the index are Sir Thomas Browne and Vilhjalmur Stefansson, which leads me to believe that they are Evans' favorites. One, no doubt, for his impeccable style and his extraordinary vision; the other because in his *Adventures in Error* he has uncovered more untruths and half-truths than any other living writer. He also nostalgically reminds us that there once was a great H. L Mencken, who gleefully admitted that his tale of the introduction of the bathtub was "a tissue of fabrications, all of them deliberate and most of them obvious." He quotes Milton as saying that Truth "never comes into the world but like a bastard, to the ignominy of him that brought her birth." Evans is going to be called a dirty Red, since he does not believe in the sanctity of private enterprise, while he does believe in racial equality.

And so this Voltairian and Shavian observer tell us that half the "miracles" of modern times are pure journalistic fabrications. In an age when

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a large radio network takes pride in having arranged an interview with Ben, the talking dog; in a world that is suffering an epidemic of mental and emotional instability, this sort of book, if distributed widely, should have a wholesome effect. A. V. A. VAN DUYM

Crime and Punishment

The Big Clock, by Kenneth Fearing (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). George Stroud, executive editor of *Crimeways*, a tiny cog in the vast Earl Janoth Entrprises, is careless enough to get involved with Pauline Delos, the mistress of his boss. What's worse, she is murdered a few minutes after George has delivered her to her apartment-hotel, where he sees her meet Janoth. The next day Janoth turns over the resources of his huge organization to a hunt for Pauline's escort of the previous evening—and puts George in charge. The chase that ensues (the same man being both hunter and hunted) provides one of the most original and gripping entertainments in a long time. E. H.

New Republic News

If we can judge by the office mail, and by remarks of visitors, there is a lot of public interest in the mechanics of the book department of a paper like the *NR*. Some questions or suggestions turn up so frequently that it may be worth while to broadcast a general reply.

Why didn't you review such-and-such a book? One reason might be space. About 10,000 books a year are published in the United States; it is physically impossible for us to give extended reviews to more than about 200, and briefer reviews to perhaps 200 more. We have to exercise our best judgment as to which books can get through the bottleneck.

Sometimes we get a friendly note saying that an important book has just been published in Finland or Hungary or elsewhere which ought to be reviewed in the *NR* at once. The answer is that if the book is really of tremendous importance, we shall try to report its existence in our pages, in one way or another; but as a rule, we shall wait until it is published in English, in the United States, before reviewing it. The main purpose of reviews is, after all, to tell our readers of books they might want to buy and read, without too much difficulty about either process.

Another common suggestion is that we should review some very recondite or esoteric volume that has just appeared, of interest, possibly, to one percent of our readers. The answer there is that our space is too precious to be devoted to something of no interest to the other 99 percent.

Occasionally, the author of a new work writes in to say, "So-and-so just loves my new book. Why don't you get him to review it?" Or a would-be reviewer writes in to say, "I just hate So-and-so's new book. May I please review it?" In both these cases the answer is generally No.

How do we decide how much space any given book deserves? By consultation with the reviewer; by having one or several of the editorial staff read the book before it goes out to the reviewer; by the author's abilities as demonstrated by his previous work. Even so (whisper it) we make our own share of mistakes. But not, we hope, more than our reasonable share.

• • •

Jim Wright is the author of two books: *Slava Bohu*, a sociological study of the Doukhobars, which won the Governor General's award for literature in 1940, and *All Clear Canada*, which appeared in 1944. An active member of the CCF, he is now living in Landis, Saskatchewan.

St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton are co-authors of *Black Metropolis*, a study of Chicago's Negroes, published last year by Harcourt, Brace.

Frederic Wertham is president of the Association for the Advancement of Psychotherapy and Senior Psychiatrist of the New York Department of Hospitals. He is the author of *The Brain as an Organ* and *Dark Legend: A Study in Murder*.

A. v. A. van Duym is display manager for the Scribner Bookstore, New York City.

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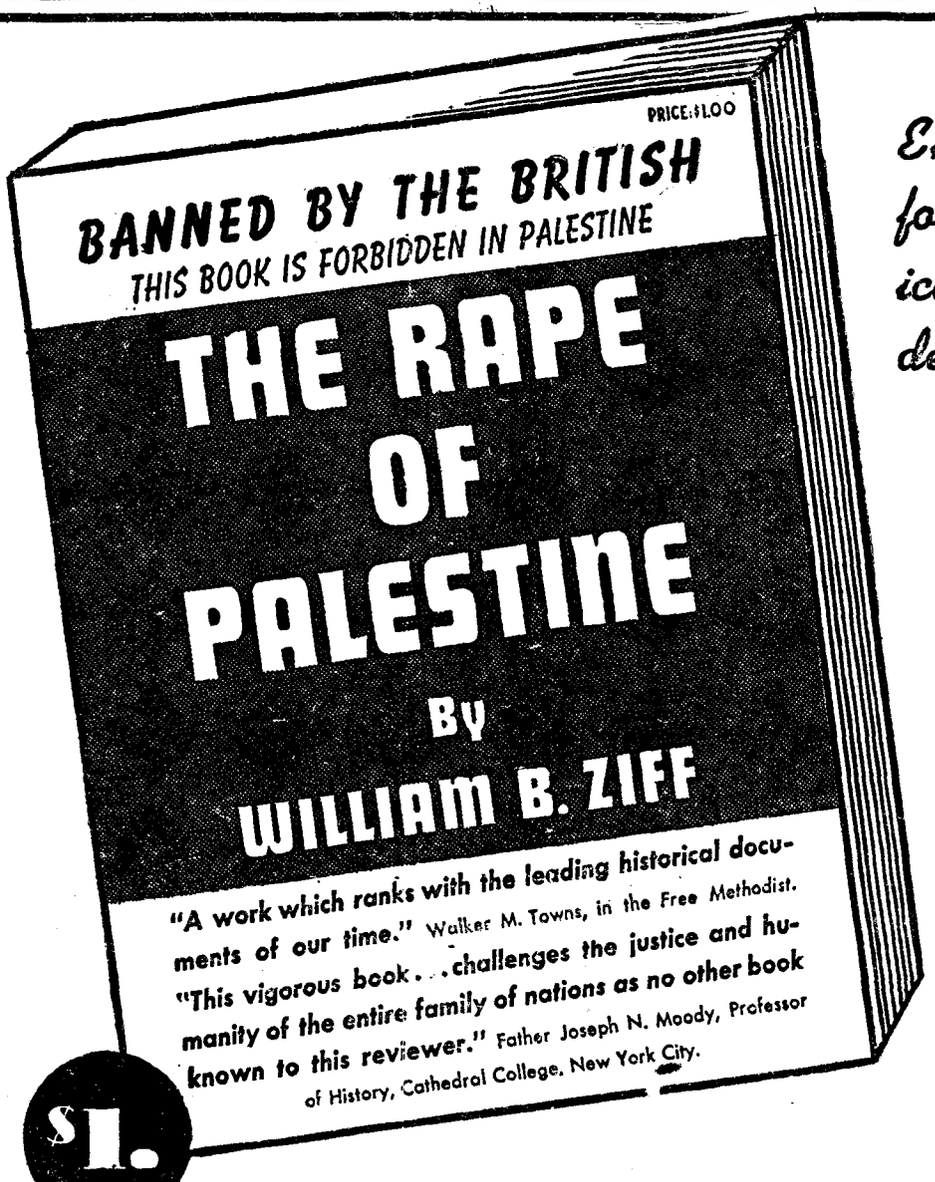
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